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HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

London

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Oxford

THE

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND

BY

GILBERT BURNET, D.D.
BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

A NEW EDITION CAREFULLY REVISED, AND THE RECORDS COLLATED WITH THE ORIGINALS,

BY

NICHOLAS POCOCK, M.A.
LATE MICHEL FELLOW OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE.

VOL. VII.

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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE publication of the History of the Reformation seems to have been first suggested to its author by the appearance of the new French translation of Sanders' book *de origine ac progressu Schismatis Anglicani*. This work had been printed at Cologne in 1585, and had passed through several editions, and been translated into French in 1587. Upon the publication of the new translation by Maucroix at Paris in 1676, the author was diverted from the proposal made to him by Sir William Jones to undertake the history of England, and induced to write this History in answer to Sanders' work, which, he says, was at that time much cried up in France. At the time when he commenced his work he had, as he remarks in his Reflections on Atterbury, p. 25, had no sort of practice in our records, but took no small pains and charge for three years together in searching for materials, and submitted himself to the direction and advice of Bishop Stillingfleet, Sir John Marsham, and Mr. Petyt. He was at first unable to procure admittance into Sir John Cotton's library. In the History of his

Own Times, (vol. i. p. 396,) he says that he got for some days into the Cotton library, from which he was afterwards excluded, upon the duke of Lauderdale instigating Dolben bishop of Rochester to persuade Sir John Cotton to refuse him admission. It was represented to Sir John that the author was a great enemy to 'the prerogative,' and would certainly make an ill use of all he should find there. Accordingly he was not again admitted till after the publication of his first volume. The account given in the History of his Own Times is not exactly consistent with that which the author gives in his Reflections on Atterbury, p. 26, from which it would appear that the owner of the library, being prejudiced against him by some men of Atterbury's temper, refused to give him access to his manuscripts unless he could obtain a letter of recommendation from a Secretary of State or from the archbishop of Canterbury: that upon Lloyd bishop of Worcester's failing in all his endeavours to procure the desired admission, he was taken there surreptitiously by Sir John Marsham whilst the owner was out of town, and worked there with his amanuenses copying documents for some days, and that he had the use of some of the other volumes from another worthy gentleman, Mr. Cary, who borrowed them from the library. In thus describing his labours the author is probably speaking somewhat vaguely, for it does not appear that he had collated documents from more than nine volumes of this library when the First Part of his History was published. And as the twelve valuable documents added at the end of this volume in the original edition are all in the same volume of the Cotton library, and are spoken of by him as having come to hand after some of the sheets of his History had

been worked off, it seems probable that the 'other volumes,' spoken of as having been borrowed from that library by Mr. Cary, would be more correctly spoken of as the volume Cleopatra, E. v. Nearly the same account is given at the beginning of the Introduction to the Third Part of the History, with the addition that archbishop Sancroft could not be prevailed upon by Lloyd to interfere in the matter, and the exception that the amanuenses are here spoken of in the singular as a copier who was hard at work with the author from morning to night for ten days, till the return of the family to town. After the publication of the first volume he was freely admitted to the library at the recommendation of archbishop Sancroft, and, as the author of *Speculum Sarisburianum* suggests, at a much earlier period than the author has insinuated. Bishop Lloyd was one of the friends, and the only one surviving in 1715, at the time when the Introduction to the Third Part was published, who induced the author to undertake the work, and supplied him with about eight sheets of paper containing the dates of every remarkable thing that had happened, he having read all the printed books that he could find relating to those times. This acknowledgment, however, does not appear till the year 1693, when the celebrated 'Specimen of Errors' was published, and the author's dates were severely animadverted upon by Wharton.

From the reply to Wharton's book, which appeared in a letter addressed to Lloyd, at that time bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, it appears that Lloyd not only supplied dates and other materials, but also revised the first draft of the work, and that Mr. Angus of St. Dunstan's was the amanuensis, who was ready to attest upon his oath, that though he

himself used the utmost diligence to examine every paper that he copied out, yet the author was never satisfied with that, but examined every paper over again himself. In the Reflections upon Atterbury, which are dated May the 25th, 1700, the author speaks of its being twenty-three years since he commenced his work. Maucroix's translation of Sanders was completed at press June 1, 1676, and we may conclude that the work was begun either at the end of this year or the beginning of 1677, which will make an interval of exactly twenty-three years. The author tells us in his Introduction, that after it was written it remained in manuscript a whole year, *i. e.* probably the year 1678, before it was put to press, and was offered to be read and corrected by all who would give themselves that trouble; and it is plain from what will appear hereafter, that the original draft was very much altered and corrected, and that the printed copy contained an immense number of additions, the whole of it having passed through the hands of Tillotson, Stillingfleet, and Lloyd. The first was at the time dean of Canterbury; the second just promoted to the deanery of St. Paul's; and the last, dean of Bangor.

The preparations being completed, the First Part of the History of the Reformation of the Church of England made its appearance in a folio volume, with the following *imprimatur*:—

Whitehall, May 23, 1679.

This book, entitled The History of the Reformation of the Church of England, having been perused and approved by persons of eminent quality and several divines of great piety and learning, who have recommended it as a work very fit to be made public, as well for the usefulness of the matter as for the industry and integrity the author hath used in compiling

of it; the honourable Mr. Secretary Coventry doth therefore allow it to be printed and published.

Jo. Cooke.

At the end of the volume the following advertisement was printed :—

The second part of this History, containing the reigns of King Edward the Sixth, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, is preparing, and will go to the press with all convenient speed, most of the records and other materials being already gathered.

In some copies this advertisement does not appear, and in the Bodleian copy it has been pasted on, having been printed on a separate slip of paper.

It was reprinted in 1681 in the same form and with the same type; and in the same year the 'Second Part' came out with the following recommendations printed on the back of the half-title and opposite the title-page :—

By the Lords.

Die Lunæ, 3 Januarii, 1680.

Ordered by the lords spiritual and temporal in Parliament assembled, that the thanks of this House be given to Dr. Burnet for the great service done by him to this kingdom and the Protestant religion, in writing the History of the Reformation of the Church of England so truly and exactly. And that he be desired to proceed in the perfecting what he further intends therein with all convenient speed.

Jo. Browne, *Cleric. Parliamentorum.*

By the Commons.

Jovis, 23 die Decemb. 1680.

Ordered, that the thanks of this House be given to Dr. Burnet, for his book entitled The History of the Reformation of the Church of England.

Will. Goldesbrough, *Cleric. Dom. Com.*

Mercurii, 5 die Januarii, 1680.

Ordered, that Dr. Burnet be desired to proceed with and complete that good work begun, in writing and publishing 'The History of the Reformation of the Church of England.'

WILL. GOLDESBROUGH, *Cler. Dom. Com.*

The author of the 'Character of the Right Reverend Father in God Gilbert, Lord Bishop of Sarum,' London 1715, says, p. 6: 'His noble History of the Reformation was a work of that extent both in argument and collection, that I must ever be amazed at one thing he told me, *that the second volume is what he completed in six weeks' time.*' The same story is repeated in his son's Life of him, p. 685.

In his answer to Hickes' attack, published in 1696, the author gives us some additional particulars of the preparations made for the Second Part. At p. 80 of this volume he says, 'I was in summer 1679 desired by the present most reverend archbishop of Canterbury' (*i. e.* Tenison) 'to go and examine the MSS. in Corpus Christi College. He met me there, and that learned society afforded me all conveniences for reading or copying their MSS. I do also own the great kindness shewed me at that time by bishop Turner' (*i. e.* the deprived bishop of Ely, at that time master of St. John's College, Cambridge), 'who not only lodged me with himself, but furnished me with two amanuenses, Mr. Smith and Mr. Tomkinson. They are now in the same opinions and circumstances with our author, but they are men of truth and probity, and I appeal to them how faithfully everything was copied out, and how exactly all was compared.' After speaking of the difficulty of reading some of the handwriting, he says that they were often put to guess rather than read, though he had at that time been much practised in reading the hands of that age.

The Second Part of the History also reached a second edition in the course of two years, having been reprinted in 1683. The two editions of both these volumes so exactly resemble each other, that any leaf might be extracted from one and substituted for the corresponding leaf in the other without the change being detected, except in a few instances where the errata of the first edition have been corrected in the second, or where the second has incorrectly copied the first. Upon the whole, the first edition, with its list of errata, is preferable to the second, which has no such list, and which has made many more mistakes than it has corrected. At the end of the second volume the author printed 'Some Mistakes in the First Part of this History, communicated to me by Mr. William Fulman, Rector of Hampton Meysey, in Gloucestershire.' These occupy six pages in the folio edition, and appear in the present as notes at the foot of the page, with the letter [F.] appended to them. In this state the work was left till the year 1715, when there appeared a third volume, entitled 'The History of the Reformation of the Church of England. The Third Part. Being a Supplement to the two volumes formerly published. By the right reverend Father in God Gilbert, Lord Bishop of Sarum.' This volume was nearly ready for publication towards the end of 1714, as appears from an abstract of a letter from Churchill the bookseller to Strype, dated Nov. 15 of that year, informing him that the third volume of the History of the Reformation is just finished, and begging him to write the inscriptions, as he thinks proper, under each of the five cuts of Bacon, Jewel, Aylmer, Cecil, and Walsingham, which were being engraved. (Brit. Mus. Add^{l}. 5853, No. 693, p. 553.) The same

volume contains the copy of a letter from the author to Strype, which shows how very late the observations and corrections of the first two volumes, which form Number VI. of the Appendix, were communicated to him. It runs as follows :—

St. John's, 30 *Jan.* 1713 [–14.]

Dear Sir,—I humbly thank you for your kind letter and the most obliging paper of observations inclosed in it; of which I promise you I will make good use; and I hope you will oblige me so far as to go on with your remarks on the Second Volume; and I beg when you come to town, you will do me the favour to come and dine with me; and that you may be sure not to come on a wrong day, I am always at home on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays. But if you will let me know on what day I may look for you, I will keep myself free of all other engagements, that I may be at full leisure to talk with you, and may acknowledge both the esteem I have for you, and my obligations to you.

For I am, dear Sir,

Your most humble servant,

Gi. Sarum.

For the reverend Mr. Strype,
minister of Low Leyton in Essex.

This volume is dedicated to king George I., as the preceding two Parts had been to Charles II., and contains a preface of fourteen pages, followed by a very imperfect list of errata and an introduction of twenty-two pages. The latter is a reprint (with only a few slight alterations, noticed in this edition at the foot of the page) of an octavo pamphlet which the author had put out in the preceding year; and the former professes to notice some particulars which had come to the author's knowledge since that time. In this volume reference is always made to the editions of the work published more than thirty years previously.

In the same year, however, there came out in two folio volumes what purports to be the fourth edition of the original work, and bibliographers accordingly speak of a third edition of the first volume, to which, however, they have not ventured to assign any date. Of such third edition the editor has not been able to detect any trace whatever, and he can only conjecture that some few copies of a third edition of the first volume had been issued before the second edition of the second volume had been entirely disposed of; and, upon there being a demand for a new edition of this volume, the title-page of the third edition of Part I. was cancelled, and the same book issued with a new title-page, the whole of the edition of both volumes being called the fourth, instead of what it really is, the third. The author had no doubt been preparing for the publication of this volume many years before it was advertised. It was not till the beginning of the year 1713 that the following announcement was made.

'The bishop of Salisbury designs an additional volume to the History of the Reformation, in which he will add, correct, and explain many things relating to that work; he therefore desires all who have any materials concerning it to communicate them, for which as he will make public acknowledgments, so he will give all reasonable considerations to those who will accept of them. He does not design to put it in press till Christmas 1713, and will repeat this advertisement quarterly to that time. He desires that advertisements relating to such materials may be sent either to himself or to Mr. Churchill, bookseller, in Paternoster Row, London.'

This appeared as an advertisement on the last leaf of the preface to a volume which was published in

1713 with the title, 'Some Sermons preached on several occasions, and an Essay towards a new book of Homilies in Seven Sermons, prepared at the desire of archbishop Tillotson and some other bishops, by the right reverend Father in God Gilbert, lord bishop of Sarum.'

The edition most commonly met with, perhaps, is that of the three volumes of 1715, and it is called by the booksellers the best edition, and from it most, if not all, the numerous modern reprints have been made. It must be observed, however, that the third volume does not match the other two, but was printed in a type which corresponds with that of the earlier editions. Moreover, the first two volumes of the edition of 1715, regarded as a distinct publication, and without any reference to the third or supplementary volume, are altogether inferior to the earlier editions, and the date on their title-page would naturally have led to the supposition that they were published after the death of the author, which took place March 17, 1714–15, if the title-page had not distinctly expressed that he was still alive. It may reasonably be supposed that they were published at the close of the year 1714, *i.e.* before what would now be dated March 25, 1715; and therefore, following the usual rule of adopting the text of the last edition published during an author's lifetime, it would have seemed natural to take this edition, as all previous editors appear to have done, as the standard from which to reprint. After instituting a thorough comparison of all the editions, the editor determined to discard this, and adopt the text of the earlier copies. The following is a short account of the reasons that induced him to take this course.

These volumes, though they profess to contain

additions, alterations, and amendments, communicated to the author by several hands, do not in reality differ from the first two editions, except in the point of having admitted some of the alterations and corrections which are printed at the end of the third volume with the title, 'An Appendix containing some Papers relating to the two volumes of the History of the Reformation of the Church of England.' If even these had been adopted with any degree of sound judgment, the editor would have felt bound to follow the text of this edition, which, it is worth while to observe, has a different name of its publisher on the title-page from that of the third volume.

In point of fact, however, the mode in which most of these alterations have been introduced betrays the hand of a very unskilful and incompetent person. Any reader who may be interested in settling this point for himself, may easily ascertain that this is so, by following the passages in this edition to which foot-notes are appended, exhibiting the readings of the so-called fourth edition (or when the note is signed [B.], [F.], [G.], or [S.], and then comparing the text of these passages with that of the folio of 1715. He will thus find that a correction is sometimes admitted in such way as to make mere nonsense of the text; and sometimes, in cases short of this, so as to exhibit an inconsistency with other parts of the history; and though, in many cases, the alterations adopted give the true, whilst the original reading gives the false version of things, yet, upon the whole, a very indifferent text is made up in this edition.

In the absence of any definite information on the point, the editor is driven to conjecture that either these two volumes were issued entirely without concert

with the author soon after the appearance of the third volume; or else that the author gave general instructions to adopt certain of these suggestions printed at the end of his third volume, where it could be done without materially interfering with the text of the previous editions; and the result of the whole is a series of incongruities, which might indeed escape the observation of a casual reader, but which were very conspicuous to the eye of an editor. If however we refer to the Records which were reprinted at the end of these two volumes, it seems scarcely possible to conceive that the author had anything to do with their republication. For instance, the third part contains (Part III. Book III. No. LX.), the addition of two important items to two of the Records in the first volume, viz. Part I. Book III. Nos. VII. and XXVI. These additions appeared in the folio edition of the first volume of 1715, which looks as if the printers of the new edition had seen the third volume, and inserted these additions from it; whereas, in another instance (Part III. Book IV. No. I.), the important corrections given in the complete copy of a document which was partly transcribed in Part II. Book I. No. XXXIV., have been taken no notice of, though probably the author would have considered this the most important mistake he had made, having been severely animadverted upon for it by Hickes and others.

It is not necessary here to accumulate instances in proof of the carelessness and ignorance exhibited in the text of the edition of 1715. The following may suffice as examples of the capricious nature of the alterations. At page 272 of the first volume of the present edition, will be found a note from Baker, correcting a very common mistake of the author's,

who substituted the county for the diocese. He had inadvertently described William Tracy, of the diocese of Worcester, as William Tracy, of Worcestershire. It appears that he was of Toddington, in Gloucestershire, yet the edition of 1715 reads 'William Tracy, of Gloucester,' which is simply a mistake, and makes no allusion to the text having been altered. Again, some of Baker's suggestions to the author have been adopted in this edition, where the alteration could be made without any trouble, whilst, in other cases, no notice is taken of an equally important correction. Thus, at page 358, there are two notes made by Baker, one of which, viz. the one containing the information that Bitlesden was in Buckinghamshire, and not in Bedfordshire, was made use of, apparently, because it involved the alteration of a single word only, whilst a mistake which would have involved the omission of the whole clause of a sentence is taken no notice of, and the error allowed to stand in the text, that 'no writer had taken notice of the confirmation of certain monasteries.' Probably, however, the most absurd attempt at emendation in the edition of 1715 will be found in Part II., p. 577, where the author, having written of complaints being made of some Frenchmen that were not denizens, and Strype having corrected him, (saying, that 'the complaint was made against all the French denizens, as well as others,') the editor of the folio introduced the awkward alteration, 'complaints being made of all Frenchmen.' These instances, to which many more might be added, are sufficient to show how entirely untrustworthy this edition is, and seemed to the editor to afford conclusive reason for disregarding the text of the last folio edition issued during the author's lifetime. At the same time, the readings of this edition,

or the passages which suggested them, will always be found in the notes at the foot of the page.

There are other indications of great ignorance or carelessness in this edition, one of which may suffice for an example. At page 147 of Part I. the *paix des dames* is spoken of by the author, with the careless omission of one of the ladies' names. The folio of 1715 inserts the word *the*, so as to make two parties to the transaction; the person who altered it apparently not being aware of the identity of the emperor's aunt and the regent of Flanders. It may be thought a further argument for the author's having had nothing to do with this edition, that passages such as that at p. 393, which manifestly refer to events passing at the time of the first publication, (A.D. 1679), remain unnoticed and without any alteration. The same remark applies also to scandalous mistakes of the early editions which were allowed to stand unaltered in that of 1715. An instance of this occurs in Part I. p. 124, where, by the note, it will be seen that the author must have been fully convinced that he had given a false description of Cardinal Campeggio, yet the passage appears in the later edition precisely in the same form as in the earlier. Too much stress, however, must not be laid upon this argument, as other parallel instances of carelessness and want of proper attention to veracity on the author's part might easily be produced. As supplementary evidence to a conclusion almost proved before, they may perhaps be considered as worth something. The mention of the facts may at least tend to give the reader a just idea of the comparative value of the different editions. The last point of inferiority which it is worth while to mention, is the careless preservation of the references to the first edition, on the

margin of Fulman's Animadversions at the end of the second volume, instead of to the edition in which they are printed. It ought perhaps to be added, that where the notes differ from the text as regards any matter of fact, they are always to be trusted rather than the text.

With regard to the other editions of the work which have appeared subsequently to the author's death, there is no occasion to enumerate any, except perhaps that it should be mentioned that the third volume was reprinted in 1753, probably to supply the demand for additional copies to complete sets of the three different editions of the first two volumes, and that there was a reprint of all the three parts made at Dublin in 1730–33. It is not necessary to specify any of the modern reprints till the year 1816, when a new edition was issued from the University Press, in six vols. 8vo, in part apparently under the care of Mr. (afterwards Sir Henry) Ellis, and in part under that of the Rev. H. J. Todd, the librarian at Lambeth. This edition is remarkable as being the only one in which, during the space of near two centuries which have elapsed since its first publication, any attempt at editorial supervision of the Records has been made; for it would be absurd to speak of Dr. Nares' edition, which left the Records wholly untouched, as owing anything to its editor. However, in 1816 the attempt was made, and carried on, in a partial manner, through the whole of the first volume. Very little care, however, was exercised in the superintendence of the printing of the text of the History, and not much more in collating such of the Records as could be found in the British Museum and at Lambeth. At the beginning of the Records attached to the first volume was added the following note:

'The documents *in this volume* have been collated with such of the originals as are to be found in the British Museum or in the Lambeth Library, and the correct readings received into the text.' Accordingly, it will be found that this edition corrected an average of four or five mistakes in a page, the editor having thought proper to retain at the foot of the page all the errors which he had corrected in the body of the text. What object the editor could have had in keeping this record of the mistakes of his author it is not easy to say, as a single statement of the average number of corrections made would have answered the purpose, both of exhibiting the author's extreme carelessness and the superior value of the new edition, the mistakes themselves admitting in no case of any doubt, but being mere errors of copying or printing. There are, however, many evidences of carelessness in the preparation of this volume for the press. In the first place, a large number of errors have been left unnoticed; in the next place, some papers in the British Museum, which were close at hand, escaped the editor's observation; whilst as regards the Lambeth MSS., Mr. Todd seems not to have been aware that the important documents professing to be taken from the Stillingfleet MSS. were to be found in the Lambeth Library. Again, no attempt was made to collate those documents that were taken from printed books, copies of which were to be found in the Museum or at Lambeth. The result of the whole is, that the corrections do not extend over half the volume, whilst the documents in Nos. XXXVI. and XLV., which there is no difficulty whatever in finding, are stated as being such as cannot be found; and No. II., which is not now to be found, is passed over without any notice. Nothing more need be said

of this edition, than that it was reprinted in six vols. 8vo in 1829, with a copious and valuable index, compiled by the Rev. R. F. Lawrence. This is the edition which has been for some years considered the best, and has now been for a considerable time out of print.

The present edition has been printed from a copy of the last Clarendon Press edition, which was taken from the folio of 1715. As it passed through the press, it was read and compared with the first edition, and where any variation was observed, the second edition was used in settling the reading to be adopted. With the exception of the alterations that have just been noticed, there was found no greater difference than what appeared to be misprints in one or other of the editions, and the preferable reading was found generally to be that of the first edition.

After the greater part of the work had been printed off, the editor was informed that the original copy, part of it in the author's own handwriting, was in the Bodleian Library. And this seems the proper place to give some account of it. It is a small folio volume which has been handsomely bound in russia, somewhat to the injury of the MS., the inner margin of which is in some places scarcely visible. This volume contains parts of three different works. There is one passage of the autograph of the author's 'Pastoral Care,' consisting of six leaves, folio 72 to folio 77 inclusive, each leaf being written on one side only, and another leaf not numbered. This portion of the work begins with the words, '*this plainness, and they brought a great deal of art into the composition of sermons. Mystical applications of Scripture grew to be better liked than clear texts;*' and ends with '*they ought to lay themselves out the more entirely in it.*'

The passage contains nearly the whole of the ninth chapter of the 'Pastoral Care,' and part of the conclusion.

Another portion of this volume contains part of the autograph of the Abridgment of the History of the Reformation, which was published by the author in 1682, soon after the completion of the second volume of the History. It is written on one side only of the paper, and the foliation, which begins with folio 20 and ends with folio 47, extends over two leaves or four pages of the MS., so that instead of being twenty-eight leaves, it consists of fifty-six, and comprises the whole of the work from the words '*sent to Rome in the new character*,' at p. 84 of the second edition of 1683, down to the words '*then the second could be of no force*,' p. 283. The inner margin contains the analysis just as it appears in the printed copy, together with a few corrections of the text intermixed. There is an occasional difference of a word, but not more than might naturally be accounted for by the author's having corrected the proof sheets.

A third portion of the volume consists of the Addenda which appear at the end of the text of the first part of the first edition of the History, pp. 363–370. This is also an autograph, written on both sides of the paper, which is paged from (503) to (509), the back of the third leaf being vacant. The paging is, no doubt, that of the original MS.; but there is another paging from 331 to 337, which does not correspond with the printed copy, and which the editor is unable to explain. This is certainly no part of the copy which went to the press; and it is remarkable that the author's spelling is not strictly adhered to in the printed copy, and that occasionally words and expressions are slightly altered. Thus, for

instance, in the passage which heads these addenda, and which will be found printed in note [14], p. 323 of the present edition, the MS. has the word *clearer* in place of *clear*, whilst the proper names in the passage to which the note refers are in some instances printed differently in the text and in the MS. The words underlined in the MS. are however faithfully italicised in the printed copy.

There remain to be described two portions of this volume which are not for the most part autograph, but copies made by two different amanuenses for the press. One of these is the first part of the press copy of the "Abridgment of the History," written in a large, legible, unknown hand. It consists of thirty-nine pages of a somewhat larger size than those of the rest of the volume, and contains the beginning of the work down to the words "*the contrary of which appears by his original*," at p. 60 of ed. 1683. The marginal references are in the author's own hand, and the pages and letters by which the sheets are distinguished are marked off. Two leaves of the MS. are missing before p. 9; but as the omission according to the printed copy is of twenty-three pages, either the pages of the MS. are wrongly numbered up to p. 9, or an addition of several pages was made to the work during the process of printing.

The only other point to be noticed is that several passages have the mark "out" placed opposite them in the margin; none of them, however, have been omitted in the printed copy: and it is remarkable that the signatures at the foot of the page are not marked in the MS. by leaves but by pages. Thus the direction M 10 is really for the back of M 5, &c. The part of the work which exists in autograph is similarly marked.

The last and most important part of this volume is the part which contains the copy of portions of the first part of the History fairly written out for the press, no doubt the identical copy transcribed by Mr. Angus of St. Dunstan's. The MS. is written on both sides and paged, and is considerably corrected and interlined by the author in his own hand, who has also made many erasures of whole passages. It is also observable that the MS. varies slightly from the printed copy, chiefly however in the alteration of single words. It is very imperfect, having the following omissions: pp. 26–45, pp. 56–61, pp. 72–77, pp. 100–109, pp. 124–141, pp. 149–151, pp. 176–189, pp. 192–241, pp. 292–297, pp. 361–365. After p. 563 of the MS. there is a blank page, and a new foliation begins, containing fols. 1 and 2, which must have been a supplement to the History as originally written, commencing with the words "*In the latter part of his reign*," p. 351, and ending, as on p. 353, with the words "*so he was brought to his*." After which follow six pages, pp. 12–17 inclusive, containing the copy of Numbers 2, 3, and 4 of the Addenda to the Records of the First Part. It is unnecessary here to enumerate the corresponding passages in the printed text which have been lost, for there is no difficulty in collating the MS., which has marked on it throughout the pages of the printed copy which correspond to the pages of the original; but it may be interesting to call attention to the passages which have been added to the first draft of the History. Inserted in various parts of the volume are long passages, in some cases written on the margin, in others on half sheets of paper, and some on whole leaves extending to the length of four pages, mostly written in the author's own hand, and containing additional

matter which had come to his knowledge after the work had been transcribed for the press.

The first of these insertions is the passage at p. 86,* beginning, '*The collector of the antiquities of Oxford informs us,*' &c., and ending, '*whereas this was done the 8th of April* 1530.' It is written in a different hand from the author's, on two leaves of a quarto size, and headed as follows—

The History of the Reformation of the
Church of England by
Gilb. Burnet, part 1.
p. 85, 86,

and at the end, in the same hand, is written, 'Mr. Burnet wrote this at the instigation of Dr. Lloyd, dean of Bangor. So he saith in his marginal note on Mr. Fulman's animadversions of his Church History, To which Dr. Lloyd subscribed this, in a commanding way, *It required it.*' The MS. copy of Fulman's animadversions and Burnet's replies still exists and repeats this assertion, as will be noticed presently.

The passage at p. 109, '*Our kings took the best opportunity,*' down to the word '*censure,*' p. 112, is the next of these additions. This is written in the hand of the transcriber of the rest of the volume on two leaves; but they are corrected by the author himself, who added at the top of the page the direction to the printer, 'This is to be added to the account of the statutes against provisors, p. 173.'

The remaining passages to be inserted are nearly all in the handwriting of the author, and are as follows:—

At p. 149, the passage, '*only that he wrote a letter to the nun*'—to '*his name was put out of the bill,*' is an addition.

* The pages referred to are those of the first two editions as placed in the inner margin of the present edition.

Also at p. 155, the passage, '*There was a meeting of the privy council at Lambeth*'—to '*in the power of the parliament to determine it,*' p. 156.

Also at p. 161, the passage, '*He also answered the bishop of Rochester's book*'—down to '*could not be certainly known, and indeed,*' p. 162.

Also the passage at p. 167, '*It was afterwards printed with his works, an.* 1573'—down to '*by him who first undertook it,*' in which passage it is remarkable that the word *first* has been erased and *then* substituted for it, whereas the printed copy has adopted the original reading of *first*.

Also the passage, p. 181, from '*In the Prerogative Office*'—to '*vicegerent,*' p. 182; and that from '*This being one,*' p. 197, to the end of the paragraph.

At p. 201, about two thirds of a page has been erased and a marginal note added, 'Take in the affixed paper instead of this.' The passage is that commencing with the words, '*And then Norris,*' and reaching down to p. 203, '*The lord Rochford was also condemned to be beheaded and quartered.*' The next insertions are two passages at p. 203, from the words, '*This, it is like, might be some promise*' —down to '*They pressed the earl of Northumberland;*' and from '*It seems*' to '*generally known.*' This last insertion is written on the margin of the paper, which contains another direction to insert a passage the original of which is lost, but which continued the narrative down to '*his proceedings against her,*' p. 204. The next insertion is the short paragraph at p. 239, '*For clearing which and discovering the impudence of Sanders' relation*'—to '*might secure them in their abbeys.*'

The next is on the same page, where there is an erasure and a substitution of the passage as now

printed, '*But how justly soever*'—to '*attainder of treason.*' The next is at p. 244, '*Nor did they think,*'—down to '*shrine* ;' and the next on the following page, from '*The bull of deposition*'—down to the words, '*inflaming them against him,*' p. 248, where for '*him*' the printed copy reads '*the king.*' The next insertion is the paragraph, p. 261, '*Upon the whole matter*'—down to '*dispute.*'

The next insertion is in the handwriting of the amanuensis, from p. 304, '*But here I shall crave*'—down to the '*affairs of England,*' p. 311, with the direction, 'Here take in the sheets that have no number of the page.' The next is at p. 333, from '*But though there were no great transactions*'—down to p. 338, '*set it down all at once.*' This addition occupies six pages.

The next directions are at p. 341, for the omission of the words, '*that she had spoken against the corporal presence in the sacrament she was put in prison ;*' and these, '*charged his inconstancy home upon him,*' both of which expressions appear in print in the folio editions of the History. On the same page there is an insertion of the passage, '*That she was racked*'—down to '*Anthony ;*' and on the next page, 342, there is another direction to 'take in the affixed paper here, according to the marks.' The passage itself is lost, but was that from '*Fox does not vouch any warrant*'—down to '*she was carried to the stake in Smithfield.*' The last passage directed to be added is on p. 350, '*His death was kept up three days*'—down to '*before they published the king's death.*'

There are other slight variations throughout, such as would be likely to occur in the case of a volume very hastily written and sent to press, when it came

back to be revised by the author. It is not necessary to specify all these, but the following may be taken as a specimen :—(it must be understood, however, that the editor has not thought it worth while minutely to collate the whole MS) :—Book I. of Part I. ends with the words, '*temper of the nation*,' the last line of the printed copy not appearing in the MS. At p. 150, the word '*blessed*' has been added by the author before '*Virgin*.' At p. 205, the passage beginning '*A little before noon*,' had been written '*On the morning*,' and corrected '*Early in the morning*.' At p. 222, '*The instructions will be found in the Collection*,' is in the MS. '*The instructions will be found in the Appendix*.' And again, at p. 351 the expression of the text '*conclusion of it*,' has been altered from '*the latter part of it*,' to suit the commencement of the next sentence, and avoid the repetition of the same words.

Upon the whole, the copy may be pronounced to be that which was made by Mr. Angus for the press, and which was submitted to the author before going to press, and received his emendations and additions. After being printed, the copy was finally corrected by the author himself, in those few particulars in which the corrected MS. differs from the text exhibited by the first edition. The author wrote an indifferent hand ; and it is evident that the printer occasionally mistook the words *these* and *those*, as the editor had already conjectured before seeing the MS.

And this is all that the present editor has been able to collect concerning the original publication of the First Part of the History.

The Publication of the Second Part.

And this seems to be the proper place to give some account of the publication of the second volume, in which Fulman was much more concerned than the reader would have been led to believe from the expressions used by the author in his Introduction to the Third Part. Nearly the whole correspondence between Burnet and Fulman exists at the present moment, and is here printed from the original MSS. From it the reader will judge of the author's flagrant misrepresentation of Fulman's '*particular acrimony of style*' (Part III. Introduction, p. iii). As to the miscarriage of the parcel, the account given by the author in the same place is substantially borne out; but, with his usual carelessness, he states that he was at the charge of reprinting the remarks, whereas it was only a portion of them that was so reprinted, as will appear presently.

The correspondence originated in a suggestion made by Fell, bishop of Oxford, to Mr. William Fulman, at that time a fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, that he would send his remarks on the recently published volume to the author, in order to enable him to correct his work in the second edition. This led to the first letter from Fulman, which is here printed from the sixteenth volume of Fulman's Collections, in the library at Corpus Christi College.

Rev. Sir,

Though it may be some surprise to you, to see such an address, from an unknown hand, yet I hope it will not be offensive, when you have considered the occasion; which is plainly this. When your History of the Reformation came to

my hands, I, who had been a little inquisitive in that subject, set myself to read it over with some care and observation. This I did with great satisfaction in many things, which I had not had the opportunity or leisure to search into so far as I desired. Withal, I noted several slips whether of the pen or of the press (beside those corrected by you,) and divers passages which yet seem to me doubtful. And having occasion to say thus much among some friends, I was persuaded by a worthy person (whose advice it had been rudeness in me to refuse,) to intimate to you my observations; that in case of a second edition, even the lighter mistakes might be removed, which though little material to the main design, yet may seem blemishes in a History, especially of this kind. This I thought fit to do first, in this short specimen; which if I find not unacceptable to you, it may encourage me to put together the rest of my small observations. Otherwise, I can but ask your pardon for this impertinence, and remain

Your very humble servant,

[William Fulman.]

Oxford, Oct. 9, 1679.

Burnet's reply to this is unfortunately without date; but Fulman's subsequent letter of February 23, 1680, shows that the gap in the correspondence was owing to his own delay in sending further notices of errors, as he had been requested.

Reverend Sir,

All the surprise that your letter put me to was at my being so highly obliged by a person to whom I have not the favour to be known; and indeed, for I am so sensible of this great favour of yours that I know not how to express it, if it please God that I live to publish the second part, I shall acknowledge it in a more public manner, for I am resolved to add an Appendix to it, both concerning some few things which I have, since my book was out, discovered relating to that

time, and concerning the mistakes I have made, for which I will own myself highly beholding to you. It had been a great advantage to that work, if I had heard of you before it went to the press, for then I should have begged the favour of your perusing and correcting it, which I hope you will not deny me in the next volume; and those who revised it here can bear me witness that I submitted very readily to all their corrections, as I do to the greatest part of yours. I am so sensible of the great advantage our cause shall have from a work of this nature that shall be liable to few objections, that I hope your zeal for the church will set you on to canvass every mistake in it. And if I thought it needful to use the interposition of any person with you, I would have desired the dean of Bangor to have written to my lord of Oxford to prevail with you in it; but the frankness of your letter makes me cast myself wholly on yourself for obtaining it. The truth is I had so little time for searching the Cotton library, not above a 14th night, that I feared I had been guilty of more errors; for being in haste, I had not the leisure of comparing what I myself copied out, and could only compare what my amanuensis copied: so some errors might have crept in that way. The dean of Bangor was the person on whose corrections I depended most; but his business is so great, that though he revised it all and made many amendments in it, yet he had not the leisure of considering all things in it with that exactness which himself wished. So errors about time I see have escaped him as well as myself. Yet if in all things I am not so fully convinced as you perceive by the enclosed paper, I hope that will not discourage you from pursuing your charitable design upon me of correcting my other mistakes; for you shall never find me obstinate in an error or unwilling to acknowledge and correct it.

I shall trouble you no further, but do assure you I have a just and deep sense of the great favour you have shewed to,

Sir,

Your most humble and most obliged servant,

Gil. Burnet.

For the most honoured Mr. Fulman, at Oxford.

Reverend Sir,

After your so extraordinary civil reception and answer given to a rude letter, you will no less wonder at the long delay of this reply, than you could at the suddenness of that first address. Yet I shall make no other apology, but the season of the year and divers avocations that have hindered my going to Oxford ever since, where the advantage of books and friends might have cleared some things which I cannot do from my own stock of books and notes which is but small, or of memory which is smaller. This must also in part answer for the meagreness of what you receive herewith, though indeed you cannot expect much from one that comes after such perspicacious and judicious persons as have had the view of your book before. But you know better than I that the men who are most concerned to find blots in it will be glad of the least, though nothing at all to the main business, to asperse an adversary among their own proselytes, who must not presume to look any further than these masters give them leave. But a word to the wise.

In my reading of your book, I could not but now and then stumble at a false print, which though more inconsiderable even than my other notes are, yet may be fit enough to bear them company.

As soon as I have leisure I will look over the Collection again, though I suppose there will be little for me to observe in either of these kinds; for I am not so ridiculous as to think of correcting Records.

By all this together you will see, how little help you are to look for from so weak a hand, if you should descend so low as to subject your next volume to it. And that it was only my zeal to the work, not any skill in it that hath drawn me on to shew you what some readers as ignorant as myself would be apt to stumble at. Some other things not worth paper I might have said, if I had a good opportunity of coming to London and being admitted to your acquaintance. But when that will be, God knows. Meanwhile, I have a small request to you, that you will favour me with a copy of the University's Letter to the Pope on behalf of archbishop Chichley, which you mention in the beginning of p. 111.

This I hope will be no great trouble to you, and will lay a great obligation upon

Your most humble servant,
[William Fulman.]

Febr. 23, 1679–80.

For yourself.

Reverend Sir, 19th March, 1680–79.

I should engage in a long letter if I went about to tell you how great a sense I have of your most obliging kindness to one who can never hope to be so happy as to repay you a small part of what he owes you; but I am sure the impression it has made on me is so deep and lasting, that I must very much forget myself if I ever forget what I owe you. I send you back your own notes with what I have made bold to write on the margent, and what dean Lloyd also wrote, to whom I submitted all. You will perceive by this that I am none of those who will strive for mastery or glory, but for truth; and when I meet it I easily yield to it. In other places I set down what I have to say for myself, and then leave it to you to judge. I will expect that as soon as you have considered the margents of those papers you will send them back to me, for I am resolved to make use of them, and acknowledge my escapes in the next volume, which I hope shall have fewer faults because it is to pass under the censure of so candid and ingenious a corrector. I had sent you the enclosed letter from the University of Oxford to the Pope sooner, but the gentleman from whom I borrowed the MS. having conveyed his papers in great disorder out of the Temple when the last fire was there, they are still lying in much disorder, and he could not easily find it—but now I have got it. There were some words I could not read and so writ my conjectures on the margent; but having afterwards hit on the true reading, I have writ it in and dashed those. If there is anything else wherein you will command me, I will endeavour to express my readiness to pay you interest, for I will not

presume to think of paying the great debt that is owing you by,

Sir,

Your most humble and most obliged servant,

G. Burnet.

Dean Lloyd bids me present his service to you, and assure you he is so much taken with your frankness, candour, and exactness, that he much desires your acquaintance, and that you may very confidently look for any kindness that is in his power to shew you.

Reverend Sir,

I have no other way to answer your expressions of so great civility, but by shewing myself ready in that service which you are pleased to reward so much above its worth. This at present I cannot do better, than by a plain reply to some of your notes, which I have added in the same margin, that they may be the more easily compared. I am not so unreasonable as to expect that all my opinions should approve themselves to your better judgment; but am to return many thanks for the pains you are pleased to take for my satisfaction: as likewise for the University Letter, which I should not have been so uncivil as to trouble you for, if I had thought it so large. But while I excuse that, I must not commit another trespass upon your time.

I remain,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

[William Fulman.]

Oxford, April 21, 1680.

You may please, in your next, to tell me how I may direct to you. On any occasion wherein I may serve you, you may send a single letter by the post directed to me at Meysey Hamton, near Fairford in Gloucestershire. Otherwise, Oxford is the surer way of conveyance.

To the reverend dean, I can only present my very humble service and thanks for his great condescension in taking notice of so obscure and useless a person.

With the last letter but one was enclosed a copy of the letter from the University of Oxford to the Pope, on behalf of archbishop Chichely, transcribed from the copy in the Petyt Collection, No. 538, vol. 55, fol. 94, which is the same with that printed by Wilkins in the Concilia (iii. 746); and with the last, Fulman sent back to Burnet the original copy of some of his annotations, which had been returned to him with Burnet's remarks written on the margin, together with an occasional note of Lloyd's, to which Fulman added, in the same paper, his "Plain Reply." The original copy, which went to Burnet, has been lost; but as Fulman seems to have been very exact, he took a copy of the whole paper thus annotated, and kept it by him. These notes, together with Fulman's letter, dated February 23, have been preserved, and they ought to have been bound up with the other letters in Vol. XVI. of his collections, (fol. 94–110). Probably they were not known to exist at the time when the Catalogue of the MSS. at Corpus Christi College was drawn up and printed. At present they are arranged in one of two thin 4to volumes, which belong to the same series, but which have not been numbered,—and which may therefore be shortly described here.

The first of these two volumes commences with a piece of paper, which is sealed, and evidently has been the wrapper to the contents of the volume before it was bound up. On it is written the description of the contents of the parcel, which now appears as a book bound, as follows:—'Mr. W. Fulman's

Corrections of Dr. Burnet's 1st Volume of the History of Reformation, as soon as it was published.' The first leaf contains the copy of Fulman's letter of February 23, 1679–80. This is followed by another leaf, not paged, beginning, 'It was not my intent to put you to the trouble of an answer to my slight observations; but since you were pleased to take that trouble upon yourself, I must make a small addition to it in a few words of reply.' This, perhaps, is a copy of an enclosure that was sent from Oxford with Fulman's letter of April 21, 1680, and is accompanied by notices of several passages which Burnet had replied to, one of which is a remark upon the marginal error of 'Title and Duplex,' for which he suggests '*Tilet and—*'. This error however, as has been elsewhere observed, was never corrected by the author. After this follow two leaves, numbered 1 and 2, which contain remarks of Fulman's, with Burnet's comments on the margin, marked G. B., all written in Fulman's beautifully distinct hand, together with the rejoinders marked W. F. The folios are written on both sides, and the pages must be read in this order, 1, 3, 2, 4. And these are Fulman's own copies of the original paper sent by him to Burnet, returned to him by Burnet with remarks, and sent again to Burnet with the reply to his remarks. Every remark on both sides is made with extreme courtesy. After this comes a leaf, headed, 'Some passages in the First Volume of the History Corrected or Questionable.' This may possibly be the paper, as Fulman intended it to appear in the second volume, when it should be published. It contains however only a part of it, and that part not agreeing with the copy as actually printed. For instance, there is a note at page 261 relating to the suppression of the monasteries, upon which there is

a remark to the effect that Burnet had not fulfilled his promise of noticing a mistake when the second volume should come out. This, perhaps, was one of those omissions which Wood says Fulman complained of. After this comes a leaf, written on one side only, containing Fulman's letter of February 2, 1680–1, printed below; then another leaf, beginning p. 6, and continuing the copy of the notes, with the replies and the rejoinders. The paging of these notes (of which pp. 4 and 5 appear to have been lost) is adapted to a previous copy, the number being placed, as it may happen, in any part of the page. There is nothing particularly worth transcribing, excepting one passage on p. 9 of the original, or p. 8 of the transcript, which bears upon the quarrel that subsequently arose. In reference to Fulman's note on p. 86, about Antony Wood, the reply of G. B. is: 'For Mr. Wood, I did not think of meddling with him; so in the first draft of my work there is not a word concerning him or his book. It was Dr. Lloyd that made me do it, to which I very unwillingly consented.' And here is added another marginal note, signed 'Ll.' 'I think the matters required it.' The MS. continues, 'He has writ me since a letter of an odd strain, to which indeed I have sent no answer, though I have prepared one, for I will not engage in such a contradiction by letters; but if ever I come to Oxford, or he comes to London, I will discourse the matter before any he shall appoint, and refer myself to their decision.' From this place the paging is continuous to the end of the volume, (p. 22 ending with the remark on Peto, p. 359,) with the exception that there is a leaf wrongly inserted, containing notice of errata, with a heading, G. B.: 'For your care in this and the following page I owe very

many thanks.' After this follows a page of corrections of the Records, some of them made from conjecture, which show considerable care on the reader's part. Thus, at p. 23, line 18, where the word '*required*' had been omitted, Fulman suggests '*directed*.' No notice, however, was taken of this, either in the second edition or in the folio of 1715; but the sentence was reprinted without the verb, as it has been also in all the modern editions. Following this are two leaves of notes on the text, without any replies annexed to them. These may probably have been afterthoughts, sent with some of the later letters. Pasted on the back of one of these is a paper, with the following in Burnet's handwriting:—'Fulman, a country parson, yet he can judge of all books, all antiquity.' The last leaf in the book is an autograph of Burnet's replies to the notes on the preceding two leaves, written on both sides of a sheet of paper, which being rather larger than the sheets of the book, has been turned over both at the side and the bottom.

The remaining letters relate principally to the forthcoming Second Part of the History. From the first of these it appears that the author had paid a short visit to Oxford early in the summer of 1680, during which time the Collection of Records for the second volume was going through the press. It was printed by a different printer, and bears the date 1680, which is the date of the year when it was commenced. The preface to the volume is dated September 10, 1680, and the work came out in the spring of the following year. The correspondence relating to it was as follows:—

Most honoured Sir,

When I was last at Oxford I was so little master of my time, that I could not contrive how to compass what I so

much desire, of meeting with you who have given me so good reason to covet your acquaintance. I am now to desire new favours from you who am not yet out of your debt for those I have already received. It is, that you will be at the pains to read what I have prepared for my next part. The bishop elect of St. Asaph is to carry a great deal of it with him into the country, and as soon as he has read it, will send it to you by my lord of Oxford's hands. I hope I need not desire you to use me with all freedom in it; and since many are to see it before I put it in the press, I beg you will send it back straight to me by the Oxford coach or carrier, to my house in low Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, near the Plough stables. I am also at the end of my Collection to publish those remarks you obliged me with of the mistakes in my former part. So if you kept no copy of them by you, I shall send you again what I had from you, that you may consider whether all or only some of them ought to be published, and whether I shall preface to them your letter to me; for I desire nothing so much as to give a true account of things without any regard to myself. I am most sincerely,

Sir,

Your most assured friend and most humble servant,

G. Burnet.

29th July, [1680].

For the Reverend Master Fulman.

Reverend Sir,

Had I known the certain time of your being at Oxford, I should not have failed to wait upon you there; though in some respect it must have been to my disadvantage: for you would soon have discerned how little I can deserve those good words you are pleased to bestow upon me. Though I can hope to say little to your next volume, after so able overseers, yet since you descend so low, it shall be my care to return it with the greater speed, the less I can hope to contribute toward the perfecting of it. As for the former notes I troubled you with, I have such a copy of them as to be able

to answer anything which you further question therein, without the trouble of sending yours back. But what are fit to be taken notice of, I must leave wholly to your consideration; for I am not so unreasonable to think that everything which so unskilful a man as myself may doubt of is fit to be publicly mentioned: much less can I think my letter anything pertinent to the purpose. Sir, you see the freedom which I take; the rather, because I think that is the only way wherein I can approve myself

Your true and ready servant,

[William Fulman.]

Aug. 16, 1680.

Reverend Sir,

When I writ mine of Aug. 16 these papers were not come to my hands. The next day they came; and I then found, what I foretold in my last, that there would be little for me to observe after so good eyes. This must answer for the slightness of these few notes; which yet I thought fitter to despatch to you as they are, than to detain your papers longer from the sight of others that may make better use of them. When any more come, I shall use the same diligence at least, if in nothing else I can shew how much I am a well-wisher to the work, and to the author

A very humble servant,

[William Fulman.]

Aug. 26, 1680.

Reverend Sir,

I received from the bishop of St. Asaph the sheets you had corrected with your remarks, to all which I submitted, and have made corrections conform to them except two; the one is about the suppression of deaneries and chapters, which was a groundless conceit of Dr. Heylin's, of which this evidence appears to the contrary, that when the bishopries of Westminster, Glocester, and at last of Duresme, were suppressed, the deaneries and chapters even in these were preserved, and

provision was made by act of parliament for erecting a deanery and chapter in Newcastle when a bishopric was to be erected there. The other particular wherein I beg leave to differ from you is the contest between the duchess of Somerset and the queen dowager, for which I see no sort of authority and very little probability; for in all the contests between these brothers I find the admiral was always the first aggressor, and I shall tell you freely, Dr. Heylin is an author whom I have found in many particulars grossly insincere; for I have seen in the Cotton library many of the vouchers which he wrote from, in which he has with a sort of spite picked out only what might be a reproach on that time, and has left the most considerable things that might represent matters more honourably. I have not enlarged on these discoveries, because I had no mind to expose him more than was necessary; but I give no sort of credit to his authority. I should in conclusion express my sense of your most obliging favour to me, in which you give me at once great reasons to set a high value on your judgment, and to acknowledge your kindness to me. I know your zeal for the cause itself is your chief motive, and for that you are to expect your reward from a higher hand; but if it comes ever within my reach to do you any sort of service, as you have a just title to more than I can ever perform, so you shall on all occasions command everything that is in the power of,

Sir,

Your most humble and most obliged servant,

G. Burnet.

7th of Sept. [1680].

For the Reverend Master Fulman.
To be left at the lord Bishop of Oxford's,
Christ Church, Oxford.

Reverend Sir,

I now return all your papers that are yet come to my hands: where perhaps you will think they have lost time, coming back with so slight observations. To your letter of

Sept. 7, I have nothing to reply, (beside my thanks for the great civility of it,) but repeating what I said before, that I am not so unreasonable as to expect that all my notes should be worth your notice, or that in your own work you should not be left to your own judgment. I must acknowledge it favour enough, that you give me leave to propose such doubts as are apt to come in the way of such readers as

Your most humble servant,

[William Fulman.]

Sept. 23, 1680.

There is perhaps here a slight gap in the correspondence, as there is no letter of Fulman's preserved between the dates of September 23, 1680, and February 2, 1681; though we have five letters of Burnet's to him during that period. It seems from Burnet's letter of September 7, 1680, that the first instalment of this volume had been sent to Fulman, and returned to the author, through the hands of bishop Lloyd.—Between this and the following letter, which is without date, seal, or address, Burnet probably had sent him a second instalment, which had also been returned corrected, and which contained part of the second book on queen Mary's reign.

Reverend Sir,

The corrections you make are so judicious and well considered that I continue still to importune you for more favours of the same sort. I send you now all the rest of queen Mary's reign, and hope you will go on to censure everything to which you have any exceptions with the same freedom that you would use with your own works. All the last remarks, except one or two in which I think you may be mistaken, I have submitted to. One little bundle more will put an end to this trouble, for which I can never make sufficient acknowledgment.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble and most obliged servant,

G. Burnet.

[Oct. 1680.]

With this letter was sent the third parcel of the History, and between this and the following, Fulman had sent it back, with some remarks. The first of the following letters promises the last part, about queen Elizabeth's reign, which was duly sent with the second, which has no seal or address on it.

Reverend Sir,

I have now received all the three bundles of papers, with the judicious remarks you were pleased to favour me with. I am so overcome with the sense of this very extraordinary kindness of yours, that I profess I want words to express it. To acknowledge it on all occasions and in the publickest manner I can think of, is all the return I am capable of making till you are pleased to add one obligation more to all the rest, of laying your commands on me to serve you in anything within my power. I have corrected my book in every particular according to the hints you gave me, one single note only excepted, concerning the king's power of changing the manner of a criminal's being put to death. For last time I was at Lambeth, I heard one of the judges explaining that particular to my lord archbishop. He said by the books it was certain, if one were condemned to be hanged and the king ordered him to be beheaded, the sheriff, the executioner, and all concerned, were by the law guilty of murder.

I have now only one small bundle to send you of the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, which I will do as soon as it comes out of some hands that are to revise it. There is none in the world whom I know so little to whom I am so much beholding, which engages me to be most sincerely,

Sir,

Your most humble and most obliged servant,

G. Burnet.

19th Oct. [1680.]

For the very reverend Mr. William Fulman.
To be left at the lord Bishop of Oxford's,
Christ Church, Oxford.

Reverend Sir, 12th Dec. [1680.]

I now send you the last part of my History. It was in other hands; so I could not command it till now. I send you also with it my Appendix of Sanders' lies. That which only remains to be done is the account of those mistakes which you were pleased to certify in my first volume, in which, since I am to make use of your name and to acknowledge your goodness to me and zeal for the public, I humbly beg the favour of you that you will perfect your kindness to me and let me have these Corrections which, after you have considered my answers, you think are still necessary to be made, and that you will put them in that method and in these words wherein it may be best to publish them; for otherwise I may either leave out such as in my thinking are answered, though perhaps it may not appear so to others, or in contracting your remarks may misrepresent your meaning. I have been already so great a trouble to you that I am afraid still to renew my importunities; but I see some need of it, and therefore I desire of you what I would really do for you if it were my case. I have so great a sense of my obligations to you, that I shall ever think myself bound to serve you as long as I live; but if you will add this I now desire to your former favours, it will very much quicken, though it can scarce add to, the great esteem and affection which is most sincerely paid you by,

Dear Sir,

Your most assured friend, and most obliged servant,

G. Burnet.

I desire you will by the post give me the name of your rectory, and of the county it is in, for my Preface will be in press soon after, if not before, Christmas, in which I am to make mention of you.

Reverend Sir,

I should be much out of countenance if, having received so many obligations from you, I should not do everything that is in my power, by which I can express what I find

touching me so sensibly, and therefore my Preface is the only part of my book that I will not subject to your censure, since there is one large paragraph in it that concerns yourself. I hope it will be no prejudice to you to have it owned that you have been assisting to such a degree in a work of this kind.

I am afraid to press you too much, but if the remarks upon Sanders have yet been reviewed by you, I will beg they, or at least some sheets, may be sent as soon as can be; for I having begun to print the Collection long before I put the History in the press, it is now done, and the press is idle for want of the Appendix. I have been so accustomed to receive great obligations from you, and instead of making return, still to renew my importunities, that I am really out of countenance; and I am almost ashamed to send you such trifles as what I writ concerning the earl of Rochester and a sermon I lately preached; yet till my History comes [out], of which I will beg leave to send you both parts, I hope you will accept of these, though I must confess it is a presumption in me to think them worth the sending so far.

The next Oxford coach will bring them down. I am in truth in pain to think how much I have troubled you, and should be much eased of it, if you would be as free with me as I have been with you, and employ me in anything you may have to do here; and whenever you think me worthy to be commanded by you, I hope by more real proofs to convince you how sincerely I am,

Dear Sir,

Your most affectionate friend, and most obliged servant,

G. Burnet.

1st January, [1680–1].

I wish you a happy new year.

For the reverend Mr. William Fulman,
Rector of Hamton Meysey,
Glocestershire, near Fairford.

Between the last letter and the following one, Fulman must have sent a reply to it, containing the remarks on Sanders' mistakes.

Reverend and dear Sir,

I am almost void of all shame in persecuting you as I do still with new troubles, but I have a [little] more confidence in this than ordinary; for I now send you your own corrections as I have writ them out for the press. I have set down all that to my thinking were not fully answered by me; but in this you will be a better judge if you would have anything either altered or added, you have more than ordinary right to do it here, since you yourself are immediately concerned in it. I have received the observations on Sanders, and have in all things followed your corrections, and communicated to sir Wm. Dugdale that which belongs to hera[ldry]. He says it is very right. I am, with all possible sense of my obligations to you,

Dear Sir,

Your most humble and most obliged servant,

G. Burnet.

12th Jan. 1681–0.

For the reverend Mr. William Fulman,
To be left with the lord bishop of Oxford,
Christ Church, Oxford.

Rev. Sir,

I hope you have received the rest of your papers, which I returned before these came to my hands. In these I have taken the liberty you are pleased to allow me, and corrected your paper, where it could be done with blotting out or putting in a few words, without troubling you with a further account. The rest you will find in the adjoining paper. According to which, I must request you to change the Title (without mention of my name) and the beginning of the first note. Many slighter matters, not worth mentioning now, I doubt not you will alter, at least in the wording, when your book comes to another edition.

The boldness I have taken in your larger work, draws me on to another in one of your lesser; not from my own observation, but of a sober and learned neighbour of mine who is a little stumbled at a passage in your Life of the earl of

Rochester, p. 104, where you say of the Trinity, *That in one Essence there are three different Principles of Operation, which for want of terms fit to express them by, we call Persons.* This, to him, smells a little of Sabellianism. I meddle not in such points: but beg your pardon for this impertinence; and only add a pertinent wish that your History were once finished for the benefit of the public, and in particular of

Your most humble servant,

W[illiam] F[ulman.]

Febr. 2, 1680–1.

Reverend Sir,

I was out of hope of having that paper returned; and as I looked upon the delay of it that you acquiesced in it, so after I had kept it out of the press till everything but the contents was done, I sent it to the printers; and that very day in which it was wrought off, I received yours of the 2nd on the 20th of February. So I can only correct it by putting those mistakes among the errata, for which I am heartily sorry. I shall not undertake in this way to vindicate that passage excepted to. All that part of my book shews I esteem it a mystery, which is far enough from Sabellianism, that makes it no mystery, and three different principles of operation is far enough from three names. This night I think my sheets shall go to the bookbinders. So the many troubles I have given you on this account are at an end; but the sense I have of your favour and goodness to me shall never end but with my life. I must therefore humbly beg you will always command me in anything wherein I can serve you, which I will ever look on as the repaying a small interest of a debt which I must resolve to die in. I shall only add that I am with great sincerity, and from a deep sense of my obligations to you,

Reverend Sir,

Your most humble and most obliged servant,

G. Burnet.

22nd Feb. [1680–1.]

You will find in my Preface a large account of the mischief of the impropriations.

For the reverend Master Fulman,
Rector of Hampton Meysey,
near Fairford, Glocestershire.

Reverend Sir,

I was very glad that I got your last in time enough to obey it, for I confess I was so dull as not to think of that way of helping what had escaped me: but now it is done, and I have already corrected the proof of the first half sheet. But the sheet in which the errata are stands as it did, yet there will be no great prejudice in that when the errata marked there are found to be corrected. I was glad of this occasion to let you see how willingly I would obey every desire of yours; for without compliment there is no man in the world whom I know so little and to whom I am so much obliged, which will ever make me seek all opportunities by which I can express how much I am,

Sir,

Your most humble and most obliged servant,

G. Burnet.

Feb. 29th [1680–1.]

For the reverend Master Fulman,
Rector of Hamton Meysey,
near Fairford, Glocestershire.

Reverend Sir,

I ought long since to have returned my humble thanks for your books, (too fine for a country study,) and the honour you are pleased to do me in the latter of them, but that it is more than I deserve, more than I desired, more than I know how to answer for. Yet that consideration alone had not held my hand, without two others: First, that being to go to Oxford after Easter, I was willing to understand what

was there said of your work. And among many that speak as it deserves, it were strange there should be none to find fault; yet the chief objection I could hear of, was but a suspicion, that you might have concealed many things which made not for your part. I need not say whence this proceeds. Secondly, I was willing to take some time to look over the whole, that so a full view, and comparing of several places, might discover what perhaps was not so discernible in the sight of it in several parts: and so I think it will prove. What I observe, I shall take the same liberty to trouble you with, that you have hitherto been pleased to allow me: not doubting but that a book so generally useful and acceptable, will come to a second edition in some reasonable time. Meanwhile I must not forget your condescension, in reprinting the first half sheet of the notes upon the first volume; though what I chiefly desired is not done, the change of the title, and the leaving out my name. But I have left no room for that which ought to have been the chief subjects of this paper, my acknowledgments of that great obligation you have laid upon me to continue

Your very ready and humble servant,

W[illiam] F[ulman.]

May 6, 1681.

Reverend Sir,

I am so accustomed to your goodness that I am not surprised at every new instance of it. Your last gave me the hope of new favours from you in such remarks as will be fit to be added in a second impression which I shall much long for. Some, you tell me, suspect I may have concealed many things. I protest I have not done it, but have told the best and the worst of everything, as I found materials directing me. I am on the other hand censured by the lord bishop of Ely and some others for saying too much, for he thinks everything was canonically done in Edward the VIth's time; and therefore he told me I had betrayed the church in saying the bishops of London and Winchester were hardly dealt with,

and uncanonically turned out, though he did not convince me that the proceedings were canonical. But in works of this nature every man that ventures on them must look for abundance of censure, and I rather wonder that I have met with so little than so much.

I hear I am sharply handled in Dr. Heylin's life, but I have not yet seen it. I am in this hardly used; for I could let you see the first draft of my Preface, in which I spake of him with great softness and respect; but I was made change it; yet I shall bear the reprov[al] how severe soever, rather than leave it to fall on another; yet in my second part I have avoided naming him upon many ungrateful occasions. But I must bear what load shall be laid upon me. I am sure you have loaden me with many obligations, more than ever I shall be able to acknowledge sufficiently; for I have not the presumption to think I can ever requite what is owing you by,

Sir,

Your most humble and most obliged servant,

G. Burnet.

18th June, [1681].

For the reverend Mr. Fulman,
Rector of Hamton Meysey,
Glocestershire.

From Fulman's letter of February 2, 1680–1, it appears that he had received the Life of Lord Rochester and the sermon promised by the next Oxford coach in Burnet's letter of January 1.

The Life of Rochester is the well-known work entitled 'Some passages in the Life and Death of John Earl of Rochester, which came out in 8vo. (Lond. 1680.) The sermon is more difficult to identify; but, as it is spoken of as lately preached, it must have been either that preached before the Lord Mayor at Bow Church, September 2, 1680, (the anniversary fast for the burning of London,) or else, and more probably, that preached on the fast-day, December 22.

1680, before the House of Commons, for which, and for the History of the Reformation, the thanks of the House were voted the following day, when the author was desired to print his sermon. The date on the title-page of the latter is 1681; but this does not prove anything, as the dates on the title-page of books frequently anticipated the coming year. The passage alluded to in the Life of Rochester remains just as it was first written.

In Burnet's last letter, the allusion is to the edition of Heylin's Tracts, which came out in 1681, with the Life of Heylin prefixed. The passage in which Burnet is spoken of is at p. xxv, and was provoked by the insinuations made by him in the preface to his First Part; where he speaks of Heylin as being 'wrought on by most violent prejudices,' and that 'he never vouched any authority for what he writ.' In replying to this, the writer of the Life urges that there would have been no benefit in referring to inaccessible MSS. as vouchers, and accuses the author of having in his History of the Dukes of Hamilton reported the most abominable scandals that were hatched by the malicious Covenanters against the Scottish hierarchy.

And this completes the correspondence between Burnet and Fulman that has been preserved. This seems therefore to be the best place to describe the second of the two little volumes which contain the copies of the papers which passed between them.

Like the other volume it commences with a wrapper, on which is written 'Mr. W. Fulman's Corrections of Dr. Burnet's 2nd Volume of the Hist. of Reformation before it was published.' The first four pages do not refer to his History at all, but contain a criticism on a passage in the author's Life of Bedell. After the first four pages, which are not numbered,

follow the remarks on Edward VI's reign, prefaced with the observation, 'I begin with small things because they come first in the way.' The notes begin at p. 1, and go straight forward down to p. 634, no doubt following the paging of the original MS. as written fairly out for the press, certainly not Burnet's own copy, which would have been contained in a much smaller space. Under the paging of the MS. is marked the paging of the printed copy, and on the back of the leaf between the notes on p. 634 and p. 641, corresponding to about p. 300 of the printed copy, is the letter written September 23, 1680. This is the proper place of this letter, as is evident from the following letter from Burnet, which implies that the last annotations had gone some way into the reign of Mary. Probably then this second parcel reached down to the passage, '*But now they turned wholly to the persecution of the heretics.*' The last note is at p. 863, under which is written the page of the folio edition, 421. It suggests the word *comminations* instead of *communications*. After this follows another leaf with some more corrections. From a comparison of these annotations with the printed copy, it will be seen how greatly Burnet was indebted to Fulman; and how many errors he was saved from running into by his remarks. In almost all cases Fulman's suggestions seem to have been adopted, except where the alteration would have involved a good deal of trouble. The note at the foot of p. 54 alludes to the story as 'not so improbable,' which falls in with Burnet's remark in his letter to Fulman of September 7, 1680.

Sometimes it is plain that the author in his hasty way misunderstood Fulman, as in a note at p. 277, where Fulman observes that 'one of his bastard

brothers by another mother was John Wymsley, who was archdeacon of London, and one of the two that presented Weston for Prolocutor.' Here the author has added to his narrative an entirely different and untrue account, that Elizabeth Frodsham was the mother of Wymmesley.

In another place, at p. 326, Fulman's note to the expression, '*an only brother David*,' is as follows: 'He might be of kin to the cardinal, and by both his names seems to be so, though I remember not any of our writers that says so much. But our best heralds own but three brothers beside the cardinal, viz. *Henry* lord Montacue, *Gefrey*, and *Arthur*, unless possibly this was a bastard brother.' Upon this hint the author grounds the belief, which he states at p. 326, that David Pole, bishop of Peterborough, was a bastard brother of the cardinal's. Fulman's notes on the reign of Edward occupy twenty pages. Those on Mary are on fourteen pages, the MS. upon which they comment beginning here at p. 491, *i. e.* p. 233 of the printed text, after which are four pages of notes on queen Elizabeth, beginning at p. 778. Amongst them there is one other note worth transcribing, which is on the words, '*next convocation*,' p. 406: 'If you mean the convocation 1571, when the Articles were confirmed; the original subscriptions of the lower house are in the library at Oxford, annexed to the Latin copy printed 1563 in octavo, wherein yet there are but thirty-eight Articles, for the twenty-ninth is left out, *De Manducatione Corporis Christi*, though it is found in the edition 1575, and in the English of 1571. Among these subscriptions there are two or three with a protestation for what I cannot guess, unless for the first word of the

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twentieth Article. You may examine these things with the original of 1562, which I wish you had printed from the written, not any printed copy, together with the subscriptions at large.'

The last leaf of this volume consists of a few criticisms on the Remarks on Sanders, at the end of the Records of the second part of the History, which in the MS. sent to Fulman had a separate paging of their own. The principal mistake from which Burnet was saved by these, was in a passage at p. 396, where he had asserted that Ridley, Barlow, and Harley were never married. The second name was omitted after Fulman's note: 'Barlow was not only married, but one of the first, and had many children.'

Of these notes it only remains to say that they were in the first instance suggested by Fell bishop of Oxford. In the draft of Fulman's first letter there are the words 'worthy person *and noble friend of eminent place in the church*,' which latter words were erased. And this completes the history of the publication of the Second Part of the History of the Reformation. Wood gives so accurate an account of his labours, and one which is so entirely borne out by what has been now for the first time made public, that it seems worth while to add it here. Amongst Fulman's works he enumerates, 'Corrections of and Observations on the First Part of the History of the Reformation of the Church of England. Which corrections and observations are remitted into the Appendix to the second volume of the said History of the Reformation, written by Gilbert Burnet, D.D. London 1681, fol. pp. 411, &c. But the reader may be pleased to know that some of the said observations are omitted and others curtailed, to the great dislike of their author, who had applied himself with very

great care and diligence for several years on the like subject of the History of the Reformation, and so consequently was abler to judge more critically of such a matter than other persons. He also reviewed the whole copy of the second volume of the said History of the Reformation before it went to the press, and with great judgment did correct such errors that he found in it.'

Arrangement of the present edition.

After disposing of the question which text was to be preferred, the next difficulty that arose was as to the arrangement of the different portions of the History. All those who have read through Burnet's History know how very awkwardly the volumes are adjusted to each other. Independently of the third volume containing so many additions to the subjects treated in the first two, as well as corrections of some errors into which the author had fallen, the first volume contains a series of addenda written after additional information had reached the author, and which even in the folio edition of 1715 were not incorporated into the text. Again, at the end of the Records of both the first and second volumes was inserted an Appendix concerning the errors of Sanders' work, which belongs more properly to the earlier portion of the volume which contains the History, than to the Records which occupy the latter half of each volume. In the second volume also, as has been already observed, there were some observations of Fulman's which, as they relate entirely to the first volume, are quite out of place in the second, where they appear in all the folio editions, and where they have been retained even in the octavo of 1829.

Moreover, the third volume has 'an addition' at the end of the table of contents of its historical portion, as well as the appendix already alluded to, consisting of six articles contributed by six different persons, and containing remarks upon the text of the History, as well as some corrections of mistakes made in the Collection of Records of the two previous volumes. It was found impracticable to incorporate the third volume with the other two, but the evil of its separation from them has been to some extent remedied by the insertion of notes at the foot of the page, referring backwards from the third to the earlier Parts, and sometimes from the first and second onwards to the third, wherever there was found any important variation of statement. As the volumes could not be printed simultaneously, this arrangement involved the necessity of adopting the paging of the folio volumes, which has been placed in the inner margin of this edition; and the reader is to take notice that all references, unless special exception is made, are to the numbers in the inner margin, which represent the paging of the first two editions of the first two volumes and the first edition of the third. This arrangement possesses the further advantage of facilitating the discovery of passages referred to by later historians, for nearly all subsequent writers make reference to these first two editions by their pages; the number of copies of them being apparently considerably greater than that of the folio of 1715. With regard to the articles in the appendix to the third volume, and Fulman's notes at the end of the second volume, the obvious plan was to insert them as footnotes to the passages to which they belong, distinguishing them by the initial of the writer's name. The editor had however some hesi-

tation as to what to do with the addenda at the end of the first volume, and the half page of 'additions' at the end of the text of the third. He eventually decided to place them in the text of the History, after the passages to which they refer. It will be seen that they fit in somewhat awkwardly; but attention has been drawn to the fact that they did not form part of the original text, by their having two asterisks prefixed and subjoined to them, thus (* *).

The next question that arose was as to the desirableness of any additional notes. And here the editor found ample reason to be satisfied, as he proceeded, with the expressed wish of the Delegates of the University Press, that the author's mistakes should be left unnoticed. To have noticed all would have led to a system of endless annotation. It would moreover have been difficult to distinguish nicely between errors of fact and supposed errors of opinion; whereas, on the other hand, it was obviously not advisable to allow mistakes of dates or erroneous statements of facts, where the exact contradictory could be established on incontrovertible evidence, to pass unnoticed. As to the former class of errors, which were exceedingly numerous, the editor has altered the marginal date or has added one, whilst he has left the text in all cases as the author wrote it. Occasionally notice of this is given at the foot of the page, but it will frequently be found that the marginal date differs from that assigned by the author in the text, and the reader is requested to observe that these are not misprints, but that the margin contains a true and the text a false date. With regard to other errors of fact into which the author had fallen, the editor has occasionally added a note, in cases where either evidence accessible to the author, or

documents which have come to light subsequent to his time, plainly contradicted a statement made in the text, and especially where the error had been previously noted by the author's own correspondents. There remained a vast amount of statements which could not be commented on without an expression of opinions on the editor's part which was evidently beyond the plan of a reprint. To meet this difficulty as far as was possible, and to enable the reader as far as he could to test the accuracy of the author, he has placed a large number of references in the margin. These marginal references are not mere notices of passages in earlier authors, where the same or similar accounts of transactions are given, but they in general represent the exact passages from which the author took his account. To discover these was by no means so difficult a task as might have at first sight been supposed. The author's acquaintance with books appears to have been limited within narrow bounds, at least at the time when the first two parts of the History appeared; and the references he had himself given to Herbert, Fox, and others, pointed the way to a considerable number of additional references. Moreover, he frequently transcribes whole passages in nearly the exact words of an earlier writer, though even here it is not hastily to be taken for granted that he represents the sense of the author from whom he copies, for such were his inaccurate habits of thought, that where there is but a slight alteration in the words, there will often be some change in the sense. His strong prejudices again seem in some cases to have led him unconsciously to alter the sense of a passage to which he is referring. It will be seen that sometimes the narrative for whole pages together is a mere abridgment of Fox or some earlier

writer. And though this is not conclusive evidence of the account being taken from the author whose narrative appears to be abridged, because it will be found that earlier writers are frequently guilty of the same kind of plagiarism; yet if it does not indicate the actual source from which the author derived these portions of his history, it at least shows that they either came from this or an earlier history, whose expressions were couched in nearly the same terms. The marginal references then which have been added in this edition always, or nearly always, refer to works published before the author printed the different volumes of his History. It formed no part of the editor's plan to refer to more recent works where the same story might be found. Indeed in that case there would have been no room for the references that would have been required. There have however been added a few references to later published works, such as Wilkins' Concilia and Rymer's Fœdera, which contain documents such as existed in the author's time, and which, whether he had seen them or not, contain the original evidence of the narrative of the text, or illustrate it in important particulars.

Sometimes, however, it should be observed that the marginal reference is added only as confirmatory of the date, or else as corrective of it; for it is scarcely an exaggeration of the state of the case to say that the author's dates are nearly as often wrong as right. It is almost needless to add that such references as the author had himself given have been verified, and here, as regards the text of the History, there was not in general much trouble involved in finding them. Some ludicrous instances of mistakes occurred, of which the following may stand for a specimen. At p. 87 of Vol. I. will be found in the margin

of every edition of this work which has been published, from the year 1679 to the last Oxford issue of 1829, the words, 'Title and Duplex.' What their meaning could be, the present editor was at first at a loss to discover; but soon found that the account in the text opposite to these words was taken from Herbert's Henry VIII, who referred to the historians Du Tillet and Dupleix for his authorities. The printer had originally read the author's writing wrongly, and subsequent editors had not troubled themselves to ascertain the meaning of the words. Nothing remains to be said as to the text of the History, except that the spelling of words has been modernized, as has been done with all the other reprints made during the present century; and that, as regards the spelling of proper names, the usual method of writing the more common ones has been adopted, and that in some cases in preference to what appeared the more correct way, viz. that adopted by the individuals themselves. Thus, the Earl of Essex is always spelled after the established fashion *Cromwell*, though it was almost always spelled by himself and others *Crumwell*. The same observation applies to the name *Bonner*. The editor has never seen any despatch of his signed in any other way than *Boner*. It would perhaps have been advantageous to have adopted the ancient mode of spelling in names so familiar, in the same way as it has been in others less commonly known; but whatever may be thought of the decision come to in this respect, it is at least an advantage to have the proper names always spelled in the same way, and not, as in the original editions, in various ways. The reader is requested to remember that the mode in which all the proper names have been spelled has been adopted

after reflection; though the editor is far from asserting that he has always chosen the best form, and indeed in some cases feels that if he had to do the work again, he would adopt a different spelling, as *e. g.* in the two above-mentioned names. With regard to the notes that have been added, it will be seen that, especially in the first part, they have been curtailed within very narrow limits; as the editor proceeded, he found, or seemed to find, it desirable to add more, and especially where there was information which was open to the author, but of which he had not availed himself, and which exists only in MS. at this day. Thus it seemed worth while to describe the Stillingfleet MSS. at Lambeth, which were very carelessly mentioned by the author; and this accounts for the two long notes at pp. 118 and 121 of Part II. Several notes also have been added to this part from the 'Specimen of Errors,' a work the whole of which perhaps deserves to be inserted as notes to the passages to which it refers; as also for some extracts from Machyn's Diary and other sources, and a few references to MS. sources which have since Burnet's time been made public by the Camden Society. Machyn's Diary, being contemporary, was especially useful in confirming or correcting Burnet's dates. Many of these mistakes are probably due to the printer's inability to read the author's handwriting. In the Third Part, the editor may be permitted to express his opinion that the History has been much advantaged by the copious extracts in the notes made from the original Council Books now kept at the Privy Council Office, and the correction of some mistakes from Bp. Moore's MSS. at Cambridge (See Part III. pp. 100–103.) The extracts from the Council Books are the more valuable because they are taken from the originals, and not from the

copies among the Harleian Manuscripts. The reader will at least have the opportunity of judging for himself how far the author's assertion (Part III. p. 455), that he extracted everything that was historical from the Council Books, is borne out by facts. It is hoped that the edition may be considered further enriched by the addition in the notes of two or three transcripts from original MSS. which have never before been published.

Thus the reader will see that, as far as the text of the History is concerned, he has the exact reprint of this work as left by the author, with the addition of a few notes corrective or illustrative of the text, and a few others which contain information not to be found elsewhere. Before concluding the question of printing additional notes, the editor thinks it right to give a specimen, taken from the very commencement of the History, of the manner in which it would have been necessary to comment upon the text if every trifling mistake had been taken notice of.

At p. 62 of Part I. the author, in discussing the proceedings against heretics, as extracted by himself from Warham's Register, describes the cases of six men and four women—most of them being of Tenterden. Their names as entered in the register were respectively, Christopher Grevill, William Riche, John Grevill senior of Benynden, John Grevill junior, Robert Hilles of Tenterden, William Olberde of Godmersham, Agnes Ive and Agnes Chetynden of the city of Canterbury. Thus it appears that instead of four women only two are mentioned; and of the whole number, instead of most of them being of Tenterden, one man only is so described. Again, instead of all of them abjuring their errors on the second of May, one of the six men, viz. Robert Hilles, does not

abjure with the rest. In the following page the 'two other men' spoken of are really a man and a woman named Thomas Mannyng and Johanna Cosyn. Again, on the fifth day of May, the penance enjoined was not upon them all, for no mention is made on that day of John Grevill junior, or of Agnes Chetynden. 'Another of Tenterden,' who is said to have abjured on the same day, is not *another*, but the same Robert Hilles of Tenterden, who did not appear with the others on the second of May. On the fifteenth of May, the 'four men and one woman' ought to have been 'three men and a woman.' Their names were, Thomas Harwode, Johanna Harwode, Philip Harwode, and Stephen Castellyn. The number of men who abjured on the nineteenth is correctly described as four; and this is the first correct statement as regards the persons concerned that we have met in these two pages. They are named William Olberd, Robert Reynolds, and Thomas Felde. On the third of June it was not 'a man and a woman' that abjured, but two women—Johanna Olberde, wife of William Olberde, and Elizabeth White. On the twenty-sixth of July Agnes Reynolds abjures, and on the twenty-ninth Thomas Church; Alice Hills and Margaret Baker on the second of August, Vincent Lynche on the third, and Johanna Riche on the eighth; John Lynche, Thomas Browne, and John Franke, on the sixteenth; and Joyce Bampton, Richard Bampton, Robert Bright, and William Lorkyn, on the third of September. Thus the author has altogether omitted to notice the recurrence of the same names, as indicating that the parties appearing belonged to the same families, and has omitted several other cases belonging to the years 1511 and 1512. Lastly, the sentence pronounced against 'these

two,' in p. 64, was pronounced against all three, including William Carden. The errors it will be seen are of small importance, but they indicate how extremely cursorily the author read the documents from which he professes to derive his history. The editor has only to add to this account that it is a fair specimen of the way in which the whole of the first two volumes of the History of the Reformation were compiled; and from it the reader will be able to judge of the value of the marginal references to the original sources of the history. At the same time, the editor is bound to express his regret that notes corrective of mistakes which there is no probability of the reader's detecting, except by reference to bishops' registers and other unpublished documents, were not more freely added to the first volume. As he advanced, he in some degree remedied this defect, as has been above stated.

As regards the three volumes which contain the Records which authenticate the History, there was little difficulty felt as to the general method to be pursued. Only one question arose about which there could be any difference of opinion, and that was as to the propriety of reproducing the documents with the exact spelling, including mistakes, of the respective writers. The arrangement finally made after consultation between the editor and the Delegates of the Press, was that the English records should be modernized, but that the exact spelling of the Latin, Italian, and French papers should be retained. On the former of these points the editor conceives there ought no longer to be any difference of opinion. Nothing appears to him to be gained by reproducing the spelling of an age in which writers of the highest education exhibit so large an amount

of variation in the spelling of words, even in the course of a single letter or set of instructions. And this remark applies with even greater force to the case of official documents, where the scribe would himself not produce the exact spelling of the original from which he copied, and to those other copies to which in the defect of the originals the author often refers for his documents. It may be added that it is next to impossible to represent correctly in modern print the contractions of which many of these papers are full, and that it is frequently very difficult to judge of the spelling, especially of the final letter of a word. Thus it is often extremely doubtful whether a given word in a document of the sixteenth century has a final *e* or a final *s*; and to avoid the deciding this point, modern printers have in some cases invented a facsimile of the original letter. Instances of this may be seen in the folio edition of the Statutes of the Realm, and in the valuable volumes of State Papers of the reign of Henry VIII. published by Mr. Robert Lemon. The great difficulty of producing a correct representation is not however the only or the chief objection to the attempt to reprint these documents exactly. The increased difficulty of reading and understanding them affords an argument of great weight; one, too, which is by no means counterbalanced by any philological considerations. The truth is, there is abundance of evidence in works already published as to the changes which the spelling and meaning of words were undergoing during the sixteenth century; and should any dispute arise as to any particular word or expression, the original is in existence and can be referred to. The object of a new edition of Burnet is, of course, historical, and not philological. And it is important

to make documents whose style for the most part is very different from that of the present day, as easy to read and understand as possible. Perhaps the following passage, taken at a venture from the first page that presented itself to him on opening a volume of the State Papers, will serve best to illustrate what the editor has said :—

> Yet as sone as She somwhat a mendyth, Hyr Grace showis as good conttenance as toe hyr seeknys were at a neynd and restes not as sone as She thynke Hyr self somwhat amendyth, but allways ryddys forthe to honttyng or hauckyng ; whiche we exsteme here for a strange seckenys with grete dowth of hyr long lyfe.—Vol. vii. p. 530.

And this is a specimen of a letter written to Cromwell in 1533 by Sir John Hackett, ambassador to the regent of Flanders. From it the reader can judge whether or not he would be deterred from reading the records of the Reformation if they were printed in this style. In point of fact, the editor believes they have scarcely ever been read from the time when they were first printed, though the necessity for reading them now is made plain enough by the number of conflicting accounts of the period which have from time to time been published.

The editor has one word more to say in defence of his present point. Let the reader take the letter printed in Dugdale's Monasticon, vol. v. p. 689, as published by Mr. Caley, from the original in Cleopatra, E. iv. fol. 254, and compare it with the copy of the same as it appears in Mr. Wright's volume on the Suppression of the Monasteries, published by the Camden Society, and he will see that, though both were competent editors, they could not, or at least did not, produce a copy of a short letter without

exhibiting nearly fifty variations of spelling in the proper names and other words.

Nothing more then need be said in defence of this point. The editor's only fear is that it may be thought to prove too much, and that his own argument ought to have carried him on to treat the Latin and other documents in the same way. He is not sure that this would not have been the wiser plan, but it was determined otherwise; and there are not wanting reasons to distinguish the cases from each other. In a philological point of view, the changes which other languages, and especially Latin, was undergoing are of much more importance. Moreover, there was upon the whole a tolerable uniformity as to the spelling of Latin words; and as to the documents in French and Italian, they are so few in number, that a decision either way did not in this case make much difference. Moreover, English readers of all classes would be much less familiar with old French and Italian, and might be pleased to see some specimens of it, which probably would not be much more difficult to them to read than modern French and Italian would be. It will be observed that the chief difference in the Latin spelling consists in the frequent insertion of the *c* and the *h*, as in the words, *michi*, *nichil*, *habunde*. The contractions have always been lengthened, and the diphthong *æ* substituted for *e*, the latter being regarded in the light of a contraction.

The Originals of the Records.

It remains to give some account of the sources from which the Records have been derived, and the mode in which the present editor has corrected the documents, and added, where it appeared to him

necessary, some account of the MS., or reference to other papers which threw light upon the dates or other circumstances of the letters and state papers which were printed by the author. And first, it is obvious to remark upon the very miscellaneous nature of the selection of documents, especially those printed in the first two Parts of the History. Not only are many of them inserted quite out of their proper places, owing to their having come to the author's notice too late for insertion in the portion of the History to which they belong, but many have no direct reference to the History at all, and are inserted because the author thought they would enrich his Collection of Records, and who therefore, in some cases, added a paragraph to the text, to suit the Record thus inserted. Not only is this the case, but some of them do not belong to the period at all; and, interesting as they may be as bearing upon topics discussed in the History, they more properly belong to a different repository of documents, and not to one which professes to give the History of the Reformation. The editor felt, in pursuance of the plan already alluded to, that he had no alternative, but that he must print the Records straight off in the order in which the author had placed them; but, to remedy inconvenience arising from this arrangement, he has added an Index, in which all the Records are arranged in exact chronological order, so far as that order could be ascertained. The only variation from the arrangement hitherto adopted which he felt he could safely make, was the insertion of the twelve Records, which appeared in the first volume as an appendix in all previous editions, in their proper places in this edition. This arrangement was rendered necessary by the alteration before

alluded to in the text of the History, viz. the insertion of the passages called Addenda in the body of the History. In all other respects the Records will be found in this edition exactly in the same place which they have always occupied since their first publication. After fixing the order in which the Collection of Records should be arranged, the next thing to be done was to find and collate the manuscripts themselves, and correct where necessary the author's transcripts of them ; and in the process of doing this many difficulties arose, which will perhaps best be understood if some description of the originals is given in the order in which they occur in the three volumes of the History as originally published.

When the author published his first volume, the manuscript sources to which he had access, or at least those of which he appears to have availed himself, were the following :—

1. The Rolls, including patent, close, parliament, and treaty rolls, at that time as at present in the custody of the Master of the Rolls.

2. Certain episcopal registers, and amongst them those of Chichely, Warham, and Cranmer, archbishops of Canterbury, kept at that time at Doctors' Commons, but now at Lambeth ; as well as those of Fitzjames, Tunstall, Stokesley, and Bonner, bishops of London, which are still kept at St. Paul's, under the charge of the bishop of London's registrar.

3. A few of the volumes of manuscripts in the Cotton collection, now in the British Museum, but at that time in the possession of Sir Robert Cotton. The only references in this volume of the History to the Cotton collection are contained in the volumes, Vitellius B. IX, B. X, B. XI, B. XII, B. XIII ; Vespasian B. V ; Cleopatra E. IV, E. V ; Otho C. X.

4. The statutes of the realm.

5. The library of Richard Smith.

6. The Petyt collection, now in the library of the Inner Temple, but in the author's time still in the possession of the collector.

7. The Augmentation Office, the papers of which were kept at Carlton Ride when the editor began his labours, but which have since been removed to the Public Record Office in Chancery Lane.

8. The Pierpoint manuscripts, which the editor has been unable to trace.

9. The Stillingfleet manuscripts. These are so called, because they happened at the time when the author saw them to be in Stillingfleet's keeping. See the Irenicum, p. 386. They are two of six volumes which exist at present at Lambeth, at Hatfield, and in the British Museum.

With regard to the documents printed in the First Part of the History, besides those which appear in the Collection of Records, there are seven which are embodied in the text, viz. the two letters of Anne Boleyn's to Wolsey, at p. 55 of the folio edition ; the opinions about a general council, at p. 174 ; Cranmer's letter to the king about Anne Boleyn, at p. 200 ; Kingston's letter, at p. 204 ; the confession of the princess Mary, p. 207 ; the letter of the princess Elizabeth to Catharine Parr, p. 209, which the author ludicrously enough attributes to her at the age of four, and supposes is addressed to Jane Seymour just eleven years before it was really written.

In pursuance of the editor's plan of printing everything in the text of the History as the author left it, and that the rather because nearly all these documents are fragmentary, owing to the edges of

the leaves having been destroyed by fire, these have not been corrected in the text; but as they were unusually correctly copied, there were but few alterations to be made, and these have been supplied in the notes at the foot of the page. The same observation applies to all other quotations in the text of the History, whether they profess to be exact or not. They are left in the author's words, any important variation being noticed at the foot of the page. As regards all the documents published in the Records, the editor's business obviously was to produce them in as correct a state as he could, without making any reference to the numerous and important blunders made by the author and his amanuensis in the process of transcribing, or by the printer as he put them in type. It is needless here to enlarge on the excessive carelessness with which the original edition was published. The present editor is not obliged to adjust the different causes to which the errors may be attributed, or to say how much is due to mere carelessness in copying, how much to dishonesty in making sentences fit together when the transcriber had mistaken a word and lost the sense of a sentence, and how much to ignorance of the names and circumstances of the History itself, or of ecclesiastical customs and other matters. It is sufficient for him to say that, after making allowance for all the alterations in the spelling both of common words and of proper names, there remained about ten thousand downright mistakes made in the original folios, and which have appeared in every subsequent edition down to the present day, which have been corrected in the present issue. He is well aware that in a work of this kind there must still remain a large number

of errors; but no pains have been spared to diminish them to the smallest possible compass; and, whatever be their number, they are certainly many thousands fewer than any other edition can show: but whatever may have crept in, the editor will be extremely thankful to any one who will point them out to him, that he may add them to the long list of *Corrigenda et Addenda* which will be found at the end of this preface.

The Rolls.

For permission to inspect the rolls the editor is indebted to the late Sir Francis Palgrave, who was at the time when he commenced his work Deputy Keeper of the Rolls; but as after consultation with Dr. Cardwell, late principal of St. Alban Hall, it was thought Rymer's transcripts were sufficiently trustworthy, such documents at the Record Office as had previously been printed in Rymer's Fœdera were corrected from that work. It was not till he had proceeded far into the second volume that he began to suspect from his own observations, confirmed by the remarks of some of the gentlemen engaged in making calendars of the State Papers under the authority of the Master of the Rolls, that Rymer was not altogether to be relied on. Accordingly all these documents were again collated, and the result may be seen in the subjoined list of *Corrigenda*. The alterations thus made are few and unimportant, but would have been more numerous if the editor had taken notice of every minute variation in the spelling of such words as were at that period spelled indiscriminately with a *t* or a *c*. Though in his own transcripts he has always followed the writing of the manuscript from

which he copied, he has not thought it worth while to draw attention to this point when the document had been printed off from Rymer, and he subsequently discovered that Rymer had made a mistake in the letter. Thus in No. I. of the first volume it will be seen that the only error noticed in the *Corrigenda* is the substitution of the word *præsentes* for *præsens*; but had the editor thought proper to chronicle every minute variation, there might have been ten or twelve of these slight errors to be corrected. A similar remark applies to all the other documents taken from Rymer's Fœdera. On an average they contain one or two mistakes of very slight importance, as the reader may judge from the notice given of them in the *Corrigenda et Addenda*. Nothing more remains to be said of the rest of the documents of this kind. They have all been corrected, to the best of the editor's ability, from the Rolls themselves; and where there appear to be omissions or wrongly spelled words, or other mistakes, the reader is requested to remember that the print accurately follows the manuscripts. In general, however, there will be found a notice of the error at the foot of the page.

Bishops' Registers.

The next class of documents to be noticed are the extracts from the episcopal registers. These have all been compared with the originals by the editor himself, and little need be said about them, except that it may be worth while to notice how badly most of these registers at this period were kept. Warham's register is very imperfect; and Cranmer's still worse. Of the registers of the see of London,

Bonner's is by far the best which the present editor has seen. It is bound up in the same volume with Ridley's, which comes between the two parts of Bonner's in proper chronological order, and with Thirlby's Westminster register, which is at the end of the volume. As an instance of the carelessness with which these registers were kept, it may be mentioned that Cranmer's contains no copy of Edward's Forty-two Articles, either in Latin or English, and that Ridley's only contains them in English. The only copy, except that at Exeter, that the editor knows of, is in Thirlby's *Liber Memorandum* at Norwich. The register of this bishop at Norwich appears to contain little else but Institutions. The extracts from the Exeter and Worcester registers were made by the registrar's clerk in the former case, and in the latter by the Rev. Richard Cattley, M.A., to whom the editor takes this opportunity of returning his best thanks for kind assistance rendered in searching the books at Worcester. The other registers from which portions were extracted or to which reference was made, were those of Chichely of Canterbury, Fitzjames, Stokesley, and Tunstall of London. In general there was no difficulty in finding the passages, though the page of the reference was often mistaken; but occasionally the editor was at fault when, for instance, a reference was made to a wrong register, as it involved an additional search through the whole of the volume. It has thus happened that the editor has gone over every page of several of these registers. And though this was a laborious process, it has enabled him in some important instances to state positively that certain things to which reference has been made in these registers, are not contained there. Of this more particularly

hereafter. Whilst on the subject of false references, the editor takes this opportunity to observe that many of the documents had no reference whatever, and in that case he was left to guess as best he might where they were most likely to be found; whilst in others the reference was such as to lead to a great deal of trouble. Thus one paper, after being searched for at Cambridge, in the library of C. C. C., was found in the Lambeth Collection; 'Camb.' having probably been substituted for 'Lamb.' by an error of press in the original edition. Several extracts from bishops' registers occur in Kennett's, Baker's, and other collections; but with these the editor was not concerned, except here and there in the text, where a marginal reference has been added to that effect; the difficulty of getting access to such extracts being in general much less than that involved in obtaining admission to the original registers themselves.

The Cotton MSS.

The next set of documents to be described are the Cotton MSS. This splendid collection of originals and copies is now in the British Museum; some of the volumes, and amongst them nearly all that are referred to in the First Part of the History, having suffered dreadfully from fire. A catalogue of these papers was printed in a folio volume in 1802 by command of king George III. It is unfortunately very badly drawn up, and contains a great many mistakes, and the index at the end of the volume is almost worthless from its want of particularizing the events with which the names are connected. Thus, to take the first example that occurs, in the

description on p. 368, arts. 32 and 33, the two letters of the princess Elizabeth to queen Catharine Parr, are wrongly described in some important particulars. The second letter has been already alluded to in this preface, in connection with a mistake of the author's as to its date. The compiler of the catalogue has not indeed made the ridiculous mistake of putting an allusion to the queen's pregnancy into the mouth of a child not yet four years old; but has attributed the letter, whose contents are represented as simply 'expressing duty and regard,' to the date 1544, which is an impossible date, as this was during the life of Henry VIII, and the only occasion on which such a letter could have been written to the queen was after her private marriage with Seymour in 1547. The date of her child's birth was Aug. 30, 1548, and the date of the letter, July 31, falls in with the supposition. The absurdity of the assigned date is greatly increased in this instance by the compiler's having represented the previous letter as written on the same day of the same year by the same person to the same, whereas it is in Italian, and in a hand so different as to show that it must have been written after a long interval of time. Neither does the remark with which the page concludes give a very exalted idea of the extent of the compiler's reading. He observes that probably Burnet had access to this manuscript, whereas it is certain that he took several copies from this volume, which was one of the few volumes which he hastily glanced over at his first permission to see the library of Sir Robert Cotton. It may be just worth while to notice one other very awkward mistake in the description of the second article of Vitellius B. XII. as written by Catharine of Arragon and Henry VIII. to Wolsey

on the coming of cardinal Campeggio. Independently of the gross absurdity of supposing Catharine could have written a joint letter with Henry VIII. on such a subject, the compiler ought to have found no difficulty in identifying the hand of Anne Boleyn, as there were several of her letters which he had seen and described as originals.

The great number of mistakes made by the author during the process of transcribing from these volumes may no doubt in part be accounted for by the hasty dismissal from the library which the author says he received from Sir John Cotton. His own account of the matter is as follows. Speaking of Sir William Jones, and the idea of his writing the History of the Reformation, he says :—

> My way of writing history made him think I was cut out for it, and so he pressed me to undertake the History of England. But Sanders' book, that was then translated into French, and cried up much in France, made all my friends conclude I was the fittest man to answer it by writing the History of the Reformation. So now all my thoughts were turned that way. I laid out for MSS. and searched into all offices. I got for some days into the Cotton Library. But Duke Lauderdale, hearing of my design, and apprehending it might succeed in my hands, got Dolben, bishop of Rochester, to divert Sir John Cotton from suffering me to search into his library. He told him I was a great enemy to the prerogative, to which Cotton was devoted even to slavery. So he said I would certainly make an ill use of all I had found. This wrought so much on him that I was no more admitted till my first volume was published. And then, when he saw how I had composed it, he gave me free access to it.—*Burnet's Own Times*, vol. i. p. 396.

This narrative will in part account for the carelessness of copying exhibited in all these papers, as it does wholly for the paucity of volumes consulted.

It is to be wondered at that the author did not make more extensive use of the immense mass of papers which were open to his inspection between the times of his writing his first and second volumes. By referring to the margins at the head of the respective documents, it will be seen that the number of additional volumes from which extracts were made for the second volume was only eight, and that not more on an average than three or four documents were taken from each. These volumes are named in their order, Nero C. X. Titus B. II, Caligula B. VII. and E. IV. Vespasian D. XVIII. Faustina C. II. Galba B. XII. and Cleopatra F. II. This is the more striking, because in the preface to the Second Part the author makes no complaint of being stinted as to time or opportunities of inspecting this magnificent collection, of which he says that it was the storehouse from whence he drew the greatest part both of the History and Collection, and that out of it he gathered all that was necessary for composing this Part, together with some few things which had escaped him in his former search, which he mixed in the Collection added to the second volume upon such occasions as he thought most pertinent.

The details of his labours in the Cotton Library are again narrated in the preface to the Third Part of this History; and during the interval of more than thirty years which elapsed after the publication of the second volume, the author repaired some of his omissions by making some more extracts from these volumes. During this time he appears to have looked over about a dozen more of the volumes of this Collection. As some of these references were wrong, and some were omitted altogether, they caused the editor considerable trouble in the finding. Of the volumes themselves little remains to be said except that they

are in the British Museum, some few of the remarkable volumes being classed as select, and as such not allowed to come out into the general reading-room. There is, however, no difficulty in collating them in the room in which they are kept. Some of them have been dreadfully mutilated by the fire which broke out in the house where they were deposited in Westminster on the 23rd of October 1731. The fire destroyed ninety-seven volumes entirely, and one hundred and five of the remainder are described as having been mere damaged bundles preserved in cases. Of these the compiler of the catalogue says in his preface that he managed to put together forty-four volumes, and that sixty-two cases remain in which the damage appeared to be irretrievable. This description will account to the reader for the numerous notices of passages which are lost or too obscure to be read in some of the documents, especially those of Otho and Vitellius. There are cases, however, where copies had been made previous to the fire, and these sometimes exist in the same volume with the originals. Whenever he could discover such, the editor has made use of them, though it is probable he might in some instances have discovered a copy where he failed to do so. Where he had no certain means of correcting the text, the document has always been left precisely as the author printed it—though frequently containing several evident mistakes. In many instances several independent copies existing in manuscript or in print have been collated, and the editor's usual plan has been where the reading was not absolutely certain to give the variations in notes at the foot of the page. With regard to these papers, as well as all others, it may be observed once for all that the writers frequently make slips of the pen both in

spelling as well as in omitting and repeating words; and as the editor's business was to represent what they did write, and not what he conceived they ought to have written, he has copied exactly, and only observed upon such mistakes in notes where it seemed to him desirable to do so.

Richard Smith's MSS.

The next set of papers to be noticed is the collection of Richard Smith, referred to at No. XXXV. of Book II. of this Part of the History. This collection has been dispersed, and even when Strype published his Life of Cranmer in 1694 the books which had belonged to it were no longer accessible. The author has referred to this library for a volume written for the divorce, in Part I. p. 97 of the folio edition. This volume, which is among the Harleian MSS, No. 1338, and another from which the extract concerning the Cramp-rings was made, are the only two that have come to the present editor's knowledge. The latter is in the Lansdowne Collection, No. 722, art. 10, fol. 103. According to the account given in Nichols' Literary Anecdotes, iii. 612, they were sold in 1682, and the original sale catalogue was in Mr. Bindley's possession, containing the prices and the names of the purchasers. No. 1338 is described in the Harleian Catalogue, vol. ii. p. 9. There can be no doubt it is the very book which was formerly in Richard Smith's possession. It is in contemporary binding, except that it has been newly backed. Both covers are richly adorned with the crown and fleurs-de-lys and other tooling. It is of a small folio size, the foliation being marked in pencil from fol. 1 to fol. 85, where the manuscript ends. It is substantially

the same book with the Academiarum Censuræ, but it differs from it in a few words here and there, being somewhat fuller, and especially in the marginal references. The last six pages are altogether different in the manuscript and the printed copy. And it is remarkable that after the eight sentences given at the commencement, the preface of the manuscript begins —*Habes hic candide lector, censuras et decreta quæ decem illustrissimæ*, &c.; whilst in the printed copy (Grenville, 1251) the word *decem* has been altogether omitted. Moreover, the conclusion of the written copy omits all allusion to the sentence of the English universities, whilst that of the printed argues from the consent of the universities of Italy and England. The other volume from Smith's library is now in the Lansdowne collection. It is of a very small quarto size, and contains twelve miscellaneous tracts. The tract from which the extract in Part II. Book II. No. XXV. is made, begins at page 100, on which is written, 'Two ceremonies—1. Healing of the King's Evil by the King; 2. The consecration of the Cramp-ring;' under which is written in a different hand, 'Mr. Smith, his handwriting, ex bibliotheca Smithiana.' So that in all probability only this manuscript out of this volume came from this library, all the other tracts being in different hands. The handwriting is very distinct, and the author had mistaken it in only three instances, which are noticed in the Corrigenda et Addenda.

There is another marginal reference to the same library in Part I. p. 92, for some letters of Simon Grineus, Bucer, Œcolampadius, Zuinglius, Paulus Phrygion, and Osiander. There can be no doubt also that the correspondence between Cranmer and Osiander, alluded to at p. 172 of the same Part, was

contained in this volume, which must be the volume alluded to by Strype in his Life of Cranmer, p. 11, where he says that a 'parcel of these letters in manuscript the right reverend the bishop of Sarum mentioned in his History of the Reformation, which he met with in the exquisite library of Mr. Richard Smith, as he told a friend of mine. But notwithstanding my inquiry after them, I had not the good fortune to see them, nor to find into whose hands they were come, after the selling of that library by auction.' This volume has been seen within the last thirty years by several persons now living, and the last person into whose hands the editor has been able to trace it, is the late Mr. Pickering, bookseller in Piccadilly, who appears to have kept no record of its sale. There can also be little doubt that the author, though he does not make any reference to Smith's library in Part III. p. 272, saw the copy of White's sermon, to which he alludes in this same collection. The editor has seen the copy now in the Museum, to which he was directed by Baker's note in Bliss' edition of Wood's Athenæ in his Life of White. With these exceptions, the editor does not know what has become of this library.

The Petyt MSS.

The author appears to have made extracts from several of the volumes of this collection. The volume from which the documents relating to the dispute between archbishop Chichely and pope Martin V. were taken, is fully described in the note at the commencement of No. XXXVII. Book II. Part I. To this nothing need here be added, except to notice that the copy of all these and several other papers

in Wilkins' Concilia, vol. iii. pp. 473, sqq., which professes to be taken from Booth's Hereford Register, fol. 61, appears to be nothing but a transcript from Henry Wharton's Collections at Lambeth, where the reference is given to a volume compiled by Booth, bishop of Hereford, now in the Ashmolean Library at Oxford.

The author in his preface to the First Part describes Petyt as 'the most ingenious master William Petyt, counsellor, of the Inner Temple,' who gave him assistance and direction as regards the laws and customs of the nation, of which he professes his own ignorance, as having been born and bred in Scotland. He mentions Petyt also as having furnished him with some MSS. of great value. Besides the set of documents already alluded to, which are mere copies, the last document in the Collection of Records appended to this part of the History is taken from another volume in this collection. It is also a copy, apparently not very well executed; but the reader will be able to judge of this for himself, as the variations of a second copy have been added as notes at the foot of the page. In the Second Part of the History there are three other documents taken from copies in this collection. No. XXII. and XXXVII. of Book II. are from the same volume, and both have been compared with other copies; but how far these copies are independent the editor is not prepared to say. No. XXXV. of the same book belongs to the same series from which No. XXXVII. of Part I. was taken, and ought to have been inserted with the other papers bearing on that dispute.

This library is referred to again in Part III. of the History. Petyt had died in the meantime, but probably the extracts had been made during his

lifetime. Four documents in the Records of this part came from this source. Two of them are original, but the decree for the succession, and the council's subscription to Edward's limitation of the crown, are too well known to need any further description here. The third paper, containing Mary's letter to the earl of Sussex, directing him to give attention to the elections, cannot be found. It is in all probability a mere copy. There are probably many similar letters to be found, one of which has been given in a note. The last paper, No. LXXIV, containing an extract from the journal of the Lower House of Convocation, is in the same volume. It is a mere copy, but its value consists in this, that the original has perished. The names subscribed have been copied exactly from the manuscript, from which Burnet had deviated in forty instances. In all probability there are many mistakes in the list, but it has been thought better to transcribe it exactly.

The editor's thanks are due to J. E. Martin, Esq., the librarian of the Inner Temple, for very kind assistance rendered him in the finding of these papers. Unfortunately there is little assistance to be derived from any catalogue, and the papers in this collection are arranged in the utmost confusion—the same volume frequently containing documents which are neither connected together in point of time or subject. The editor only discovered these papers by going through the whole of the volumes which seemed at all likely to contain them, and it was only in his second search through vol. xlvii. in the Record Office, where the volume had been transferred for the use of the calendarers of the State Papers, that he found the document relating to Convocation. It seems worth while here to draw attention to this volume, No. 538,

vol xlvii., because it is perhaps the most valuable of the whole series. It contains, in addition to the papers extracted by Burnet, a considerable number of autographs of Bonner's of the reign of Henry VIII, and a large number of documents connected with ecclesiastical affairs belonging to the three succeeding reigns, as well as many relating to the Roman mission to England in the reign of James I. It was in the volume immediately preceding this, No. 538, vol. xlvi., that the editor hoped to discover Mary's letter to Sussex. It contains several original letters of kings and queens, and a long autograph letter of Pole's to cardinal Morone on the subject of the withdrawal of the legatine authority and the accusation of heresy brought against himself and Morone; also a large collection of copies of letters which passed between the protector and council in the handwriting of secretary Petre. Whether the originals of any of these are lost the editor is unable to say; but as they are not amongst the state papers, nor are, he believes, in the Cotton Library, it seems probable that many of them may not exist elsewhere.

Papers in the Augmentation Office.

The second, third, fourth, and fifth sections of No. III. of the third book of the Records of the first Part of the History, are made up from the original deeds of resignation in the Augmentation Office, supplemented from the Close Rolls, in which the surrenders of several abbeys are enrolled, and the Patent Rolls, in which the refounding of certain other houses will be found. These papers not being mere records but rather an account in the author's own words, interspersed with documentary evidence, presented some

difficulty to the editor. Had he pursued his usual plan of inserting the author's words in the Catalogue of Resignations, he must have printed the whole catalogue twice over, once correctly and once incorrectly. For it will be seen by a comparison of this edition with any preceding edition of Burnet's Reformation, that there is an average of one mistake to each line. Accordingly nothing remained but to give as correctly as he could a representation of the name, style and county of the monastery, together with the number of monks who signed the deed, and the date of the resignation. To this has been added, in the case of the new foundations of the twenty-eighth year of the king's reign, the number of the Part in the patent roll in which the grant was made. The author seems to have been in entire ignorance as to the number of houses refounded in the twenty-ninth and thirtieth years of the king's reign. And as there is no complete catalogue anywhere, the editor hopes this will be considered a valuable addition to the History. In the same way, the editor found himself obliged to add a considerable number to the list of houses surrendered in the next catalogue, in section iii., there being many resignations, both in the Rolls and in the Augmentation Office, which had entirely escaped the author's notice. It is a remarkable evidence of the author's carelessness in drawing up these papers, that he should have printed the resignation of Bisham Abbey twice, without inquiring as to the fact of two resignations having taken place, one in the twenty-eighth, the other in the thirtieth, year of the reign. The matter is easily explained by referring to the list of houses refounded, where it will be seen as one of those reconstituted in the twenty-ninth year of the reign. The numbers prefixed to the

names of the monasteries in this part of the catalogue represent the alphabetical order in which they stand in the second Appendix to the Eighth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, pp. 6–51. This catalogue may in the main be depended on, but the editor has discovered more than one mistake in it. At the time when the editor was engaged in this part of his work, the office was at Carlton Ride; but all the papers which formerly were kept there have since been transferred to the Public Record Office, and may be consulted there on the same conditions as the other records and state papers now lodged there. The want of some catalogue of the documents which belong to this department was felt as a great hindrance, and the document in section v. of this No., described by the author as a book in the Augmentation Office, involved a search of nearly a hundred volumes before it was found. The editor was also glad to discover the original of the document printed as No. VI. of Book III. in the same office, which was fortunate, inasmuch as the copy from which the author professes to have taken it could not be found. With regard to these papers taken from the augmentation records, the mistakes were so very numerous that the editor thought it advisable to add a considerable number of notes from various sources, which tend to confirm the correctness of the dates here assigned to the surrenders. All other points which regard these documents will be found fully explained in the notes appended to them. He deems no apology necessary for having printed the whole of the paper which gives the account of the surrender of Tewkesbury, instead of reprinting it in the abridged form in which Burnet presented it. The type in which this document is printed is

arranged so as to give some idea of the appearance of the original.

The Stillingfleet MSS.

Of these Baker observes that they were borrowed from the Cecil or Salisbury family by Stillingfleet. See the note to Records, Part I. Book III. No. XXI. where Baker speaks of the MSS. from which this paper and others in the collection were taken as being 'two of the six or seven volumes said (p. 171) to have been in the hands of my lord Burghley.' At the time when this edition was passing through the press, the editor knew only of four of these volumes. Two are in the library at Lambeth, and from these all the documents that appear in Burnet's History are transcribed. Both these volumes have been sufficiently described in the notes.

Two other volumes are alluded to in Part I. p. 171. These are at present in the Royal Collection, 7 B. XI. and XII. Probably the six or seven volumes alluded to in the passage are more accurately estimated as six; and then the two remaining ones which Burnet says for aught he can understand are lost, will be the two volumes at Hatfield, which the editor has never himself seen, but which he has no doubt are the two described by Mr. Stewart in the manuscript catalogue which was shown him at the Record Office in 1863, in four large folio volumes. The present edition of the History of the Reformation has sustained no loss by the tidings of these two volumes having come so late to the editor. There are no direct extracts from them; but the analysis of Cranmer's treatise concerning General Councils, inserted in the text, Part I. p. 175, shews that it was taken from one of these two volumes which are described as C. c. 4 and

vol. 137. It is there called, 'A Treatise concerning General Councils,' and is said to be 'in two portions, forming 149 pages, in a hand like that of Cranmer as affixed to the depositions in the case of Anne of Cleves (vol. i. p. 10).' The description given of this treatise plainly shews that it is the same thing which Burnet calls a speech; though Burnet speaks of it as a transcript by his secretary, and not an autograph.

The two volumes in the Royal Collection have been very remarkably neglected. Dr. Jenkyns knew of their existence, but has omitted their contents from his edition of Cranmer's Works. Neither do they appear in the Parker Society's edition. They are two small folios, bound, and lettered on the back, *T. Cranmer C. A. Collectiones ex S. Scripturâ et Patribus propr. illius manu conscript.* The first has 237 leaves, besides 39 which are blank. The second consists of 321 leaves, with 18 blank. The *tabula repertoria* to both volumes occupies folios 4 and 5 of vol. i. There are fifty-eight different articles marked, after which are added three in a different hand. Additions also have been interspersed in this table of contents, but the contents of both volumes are written in Cranmer's hand. The second leaf of the first volume contains a holograph letter of Cecil's to Parker, endorsed 'To my lord of Canterburie's good grace,' as follows:—

May it please your Grace,—

I thank the same for your letters. I am glad that you have heard of such hid treasures, as I take the books of the holy archbishop Cranmer to be. I have of late recovered of his written books five or six, which I had of one Mr. Head, from Lyncoln. Your grace writeth to have letters from the Council, but to whom they should be written, or who the persons of whom the writing should be demanded, your grace's

letter maketh no mention. And therefore, knowing no such earnestness here, or care of such matters, I forbare to press the Council therein; specially being not hable to render them an account who hath the writings. But upon advertisement thereof I will not fail but procure such letters.

From Wyndsor, where we are yet in health, thanked be Almighty God. On Tuesday the Spanish ambassador died here within two miles, of a burning ague.

Your grace's at

25 Aug. 1563. command,

W. Cecill.

On the back of this leaf is part of the draft of a letter in Parker's hand, without any signature, as follows :—

Where I did write to your honour to procure the council's letters for the obtaining of certain ancient written books of the lord Cranmer, and belike did not express particularly either to whom these letters should be directed, or the persons of whom they should be demanded, your honour shall understand that the party to whom belongeth these books sued to me to recover them out of Dr. Nevison's hands, in whose study the owner plainly avoucheth that he saw them with his own eyes there, and who did after that require them of him, being conveyed away from him the said owner, but the said Nevison denieth to have them. And I am persuaded he would do the same to myself, if I should de[mand] them, and thereupon desired to have the council's letters which he might better regard, either directed to me to require them of him, or else to him to deliver them to me, being none of his own but usurped in secrecy, for the which I have made much long inquiry till now the party who oweth them denoteth so much to me. I refer the consideration of this my desire, either to be satisfied by the means of such letters aforesaid, or else by yourself privately, as your gentle prudence shall think best. Indeed the matter is of earnest importance and need[eth] your help if gratitude [in] the said Nevison to me were not, to seek.

Finally, I pray your honour once again, help forward Mr. Manwood's good intent, as conscience with the reason of your office may conveniently bear it. 7th September.

On the first leaf of the volume is the order from the Council, as follows :—

After our very hearty commendations to your good lordship. Being given to understand that certain written books, containing matters of divinity, sometime belonging to archbishop Cranmer, your lordship's predecessor, are come to the hands of Doctor Neveson, being very necessary to be seen at this time; we have somewhat earnestly written to the said Mr. Neveson to deliver those books unto your lordship. And like as we doubt not but he will forthwith deliver the same unto you, considering they are for so good a purpose required of him; So if he should deny the delivery thereof, we think meet that your lordship by your own authority do cause his study and such other places where you think the said books do remain, to be sought; and if the same books may be found, to take them into your lordship's custody. And thus we bid your good lordship most heartily fare well.

From Windesore Castell, the 23th of September, 1563.

Your good lordship's most assured loving friends,

N. Bacon C. S.

Penbroke

W Northt.

R. Duddley

E. Clynton

F. Knollys

Will^m Petre S^y

W. Cecill.

These two volumes are undoubtedly the two alluded to by the author at p. 171 of the First Part. The original letter of Lord Burghley's which is spoken of in the same place, is the letter to archbishop Parker, printed above. Burnet, with his usual inaccuracy, says that Cecil had six or seven

volumes, all of which, with the exception of two, he supposes are lost. Cecil says five or six volumes, probably quoting from memory.

There is one other allusion to these volumes made in 'An Inquiry into the Reasons for abrogating the Test imposed on all Members of Parliament,' offered by Sa. Oxon. (See the Collection of 18 Papers, pp. 210, 211.) There the author says that Dr. Stillingfleet had the MS., *i. e.* in his keeping, for above twenty years, and that he had himself had it for many months. He continues, 'There are many other papers yet extant, which by comparing the hands shew these to be originals; and they were in the Salisbury family probably ever since they were at first brought together. Their ancestor, the Lord Burleigh, who was secretary of state in Edward VI's time, gathered them up, and, as appears in a letter under his own hand yet extant, he had six or seven volumes of them, of which Dr. Stillingfleet had only two; but Dr. Burnet saw two more of these volumes.'

The editor can account for six, two of which are well known as the Stillingfleet MSS. at Lambeth, two more of which are in the Royal Collection, being the two volumes just described, which have also been referred to by previous writers and editors; and the remaining two being at the marquis of Salisbury's at Hatfield, of which, as far as the present editor knows, this is the first public intimation. It seems worth while to add, that before the commencement of the second volume there is a report of a conference held between Fecknam and the bishop of Ely, dated Feb. 2, 1578, in which Fecknam refuses to conform. This is signed by Andrew Pearne, Degory Nycolls, Thomas Crowe, and Wyllyam Stanton. Of this

conference some account is given in Strype's Annals of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 526.

Documents referred to in Part II.

In the interval between 1679 and 1681, when the Second Part of the History was published, the author appears to have seen the following additional volumes of the Cotton Library, viz., Nero C. X; Titus B. II; Caligula B. VII, E. I, and E. IV; Vespasian D. XVIII; Faustina C. II; Galba B. XII; Cleopatra F. II; also some collections which had not been before open to his inspection, and some, of the existence of which he was probably not cognizant. He has placed as a preface to the Collection of Records of this Part, all that he could gather together of the writings of king Edward VI. The Journal, together with five of the six other papers written with the king's own hand, are all from the volume Nero C. X, in the Cotton Collection, with one exception, which consists of a French Collection of passages of Scripture against Idolatry, and is in Trinity College library at Cambridge. The editor is indebted for the accurate collation of this paper, as well as for the substance of the information contained in the note at the end of it, to the Rev. W. G. Clark, Fellow of Trinity, and Public Orator of the University.

The original Council Books of Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth.

Perhaps the most important additional sources of information for the Records of this volume are the Council Books of Edward VI. and Mary. That of Edward is especially valuable, as containing some

of the authentic records of the conspiracy against the protector. The notes to these documents will sufficiently explain the state of the text and the variations in the different copies of the letters which passed. The editor collated every copy that he could find, and it will be seen from the numerous differences how difficult it is to extract a correct text from hastily written and hastily copied state papers, as well as to decide in some instances which shall be considered the authentic copy. And it is only necessary to add here what has come to his knowledge since writing the notes to these documents, that there is a large collection of thirty letters relating to the period between June and October 1549, written in the hand of secretary Petre in the Petyt Collections in the Inner Temple, No. 538, vol. xlvi.

Manuscripts of the Earl of Haddington.

The next new reference is at Book I. No. X. to an autograph *apud ill. com. de H.* There is a note to this document, stating that it has been corrected from the facsimile in Anderson's Diplomata Scotiæ. The original document is preserved in the Register House at Edinburgh. There is another facsimile of it with its seals in the first volume of the Acts of the Parliament of Scotland. The notice of this document, which has been obligingly forwarded to the editor by David Laing, Esq., is as follows :—

'1320 Apr. 6. *Parliamentum apud Abirbrothoc VI Die Aprilis, A.D. M.CCC.XX.*

"*Littere directe ad dominum Summum Pontificem per Communitatem Scocie.*" p. 114.

From the original instrument in the General Re-

gister House.' In August 1829 it was deposited there by Thomas, earl of Haddington, in pursuance of the directions of his father the late earl. This instrument has been greatly injured since it was engraved for the Diplomata Scotiæ ; and the seal of the earl of Fife, the only one engraved by Anderson, has been torn away.

The names of those who affixed their seals are marked on the parchment itself, and on a few of the labels.

Archbishop Parker's Collection at Cambridge.

The MSS. in Corpus Christi College library at Cambridge come next in order for notice. Several important papers were taken from this collection, the history of which may be learned from Nasmyth's catalogue, which is however extremely defective and full of errors. There is an inconvenient rule as regards access to this library. No one is allowed to consult the MSS. except in the presence of two members of the foundation. It is to be hoped that so foolish and useless a regulation may be soon dispensed with. It is the editor's pleasing duty, however, to return his best thanks to the master of Corpus, and to the Rev. T. T. Perowne, for their great kindness in assisting him in every possible way in his researches in this library, which were successful, excepting as regards one printed book, which will be noticed hereafter.

Dr. Borlace's MSS.

Of Dr. Borlace's MSS., from which No. XVIII of Book I and No. X of Book III were extracted, the editor can gain no tidings whatever. In neither case, however, does the document refer to the period

embraced in Burnet's History, nor are the documents themselves of much importance.

Dr. Johnstone's MSS.

Nos. XXI, XXVII, XXXIII, and LVI, are copied from Dr. Johnstone's MSS. For information about Nos. XXVII and LVI the reader is referred to the notes appended to those two documents.

Of Nos. XXI and XXXIII, the editor regrets that he can give no further account. Of the collection generally, it may be worth while to record here all that the editor knows.

It consists of about sixty folio volumes, which are at present in the possession of F. B. Frank, Esq. of Campsall Park, near Doncaster. The collection is described in the '*Catalogi Librorum Scriptorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ in unum Collecti*,' (Oxon. 1697, folio,) as consisting of 130 vols. Scarcely half of the collection therefore exists at present, unless the remainder has passed into other hands. The editor has here to thank Mr. Frank for his hospitable reception of him, as well as for the kind assistance rendered in turning over the whole number of volumes in his possession, which at the time of which he is now speaking were lying unknown and unnoticed in an upper room at Campsall Park, thick with the accumulated dust of at least a quarter of a century. From information from Mr. Frank, as well as from a few scattered notices in the different volumes, he gathered that they had come into the possession of Richard Frank, Esq. by purchase some time before the middle of the eighteenth century. The editor made a hasty survey and catalogue of these volumes.

It does not appear that many of those volumes, described as of folio and quarto size in pp. 99, 100 of the *Catalogi*, are at present at Campsall Park. Probably 3824 to 3827 may correspond to a volume lettered K. 1, which contains a note by Richard Frank, stating that the index did not answer, and that the volume contained unimportant letters to lord Shrewsbury ; and to W. 21, and Y. 1, which seemed to contain original letters to or from, or concerning the earl of Shrewsbury, many of which were dated from 1580 to 1594.

Of the MSS. said pp. 101, 102, to be fairly writ on large paper, and handsomely bound, as well as those described as having been compiled in order to the illustrating of the antiquities of Yorkshire, many appear to have reached the present possessor. And there is one lettered L. 1, which contains an index to all Johnstone's MSS, with a note by Richard Frank, stating that many had not come into his possession, and that some were wrongly placed. All the Lives of the earls of Shrewsbury, fairly written out for the press, and some duplicates, correspond exactly with the description in the catalogue.

Of the remainder, the greater part relate to the antiquities of Yorkshire, and contain accounts and genealogies of Yorkshire families. One contains (O. 2) an account of the visitation of Magdalen College, and some original letters of Obadiah Walker ; one contains letters which passed between Dr. Johnstone and his brother Henry ; several are transcripts from Dodsworth. There is also an illuminated MS. half bound, of a poem, entitled 'Troilus and Cressida,' which once was in possession of Robert Wood, who appears to have belonged to the household of the cardinal legate.

In addition to the particulars recorded in the notes to No. XXVII, the following information may hereafter be of use. The volume C. 2 begins with page 327, and has inserted at p. 343 an original document with '*Marye the Quene*' in her own handwriting at the head of it. It is entitled, 'Certain orders prescribed by the king and queen's majesties unto the justices of the peace of the county of York for the good government of their majesty's loving subjects within the said shire.' At p. 395 of the same volume is another original of Philip and Mary, viz. a commission to the archbishop of York, the earl of Shrewsbury, the suffragan bishop of Hull, &c. to search out heretics; dated 8 March, 3 and 4 regni. At p. 439 is an original of intelligence to lord Dacres, dated June 26, 1557. The history of this volume ends with the year 1557 at p. 556, and is continued in the third volume, which is numbered outside, G. 1. After p. 636 is inserted, quite out of its proper place, the original of the Instructions, &c. as printed in No. LVI. of this collection.

There is one other volume in this collection to be noticed. It is lettered X. 8, and appears to be a duplicate Life of Francis, earl of Shrewsbury. It seems to be an earlier transcript, and not quite so full as the other Life in these volumes. At p. 264 of this volume is inserted an original commission of Edward VI about Church goods, dated 3 March, 7 regni; at the end of which there is a statement to the effect that the copy had been communicated with other documents to Dr. Burnet for his History of the Reformation. The author does not appear to have made any use of this particular document, which in all probability was issued in accordance with the Commission of 6 Edward VI, printed from the Patent

Roll in the Deputy Keeper's Seventh Report, pp. 307–336. It should be noticed here that these volumes in one respect do not correspond to the description given in the *Catalogi*. Instead of being handsomely bound, they are for the most part only stitched together in brown paper covers. It only remains to be added, that a large number of these volumes have more or less relation to the earls of Shrewsbury. Thus, A. 3 and B. 2 contain letters of the earl of Shrewsbury taken from the Heralds' Office. Another volume, marked by the present editor with the initials N. P., is a folio of Lives of the different earls. Another, marked 3, is a torn volume, containing some original papers, with some account of the earl of Shrewsbury, of date about 1586. D. 4 contains a life of George earl of Shrewsbury in the handwriting of Dr. N. Johnstone; and E. 2 is an exact copy of the same, headed 'Historical Account of George 2nd Earl of that name (Talbot), from 1557 to 1577.' X. 10 contains the 'Life of the 7th and last Earl of Shrewsbury.'

Richard Lechmere's Collection.

The next collection is that of Richard Lechmere, from which No. XXXVII. of Book I and No. VII. of Book II are taken. These letters are not at present in the possession of the representative of the family, and the editor has been unable to trace them.

State Papers.

No. LIX. of this collection contains the first instance of a copy taken from the State Paper Office. It is only necessary here to say that the editor obtained

permission to copy papers both in this office and the Public Record Office from the late Sir Francis Palgrave, Deputy Keeper of the Records. At the time whilst the greater part of these volumes was in progress, the State Paper Office was still a distinct establishment, and the documents have been left with the references that the author placed in the margin, with an occasional addition indicating the series and the volume in which they are bound up. Several volumes were however at that time in the hands of the editors of the Calendars of State Papers at the Record Office; and all the volumes of the reign of Henry VIII have been pulled to pieces since that time. The whole collection has since been removed to Chancery Lane; and the editor begs to offer his warmest thanks to the Rev. J. S. Brewer, the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, and James Gairdner, Esq., for much valuable assistance in finding documents, and in reading difficult passages, comprising proper names, some of which he fears without their assistance he should have misrepresented.

The Gresham MSS.

The editor has next to express his great regret that he hastily came to the conclusion that the Norfolk MSS. in Gresham College had been destroyed. He was advised to refer to the lord mayor of London, who courteously made inquiries for him, the result of which he communicated to him; viz. that all the MSS. at Gresham College had been destroyed by the fire which burned down the Royal Exchange. It was not till many months after the documents in No. II. and No. XXI. of Book II had been printed, that he accidentally became aware that

the Norfolk MSS. had been previously removed to the British Museum, and are now amongst the Arundel Collection. The first of these two documents had been very badly copied by the author or his amanuensis, there being no less than ten mistakes in the single page of which it consists. Moreover, had the editor seen the original, he would have been able to detect Miss Strickland's foolish alterations, which evidently have no authority whatever, and are therefore not entitled to be entered as various readings. The document in the Arundel MS. is a contemporary copy. The same may be said of Sir Thomas More's letter to Cromwell in No. XXI. This paper however was better copied, the mistakes, omitting the misspelling of proper names, being only about fifteen in the whole letter, and none of them of much importance. They will all be found noticed in the list of *Corrigenda et Addenda*.

Register of Worcester.

At No. XXIII. of this book appears the first document taken from the books of the dean and chapter of Worcester. For the collation of this, as well as of No. XXVIII. of Book II. in the Third Part of the History, the editor is indebted to the kindness of the Rev. Richard Cattley, minor canon of Worcester.

At No. XXV. is another reference to the manuscript collection of Mr. Richard Smith. This the editor discovered by accident amongst the Lansdowne MSS, long after he had given up all hopes of finding any part of the collection. The variations from the MS. will be found corrected in the list appended to this Preface.

The Earl of Huntingdon's MSS.

No. XXX. contains the only document for which reference was given to the collection of the earl of Huntingdon. The editor applied to the present lord Huntingdon, and received a courteous reply to the effect that he had never been in possession of any of the old library belonging to the family, which he believed remained at Donington Castle. The editor also wrote to the marquis of Hastings, the present representative of the family, but received no reply. Fortunately there were two independent copies of the document.

The Longueville MSS.

There are two documents printed from this library, No. I. of Book III. in the Second Part of the History, and No. XXII. of Book II. of the Third Part. Burnet calls the collection at first that of lord Grey de Ruthen, and in 1715 the library is spoken of as lord Longueville's. In the *Catalogi* it goes by the name of the Yelverton library. Atterbury quotes from it as lord Longueville's library. Collier and Strype also had access to this collection: the latter referring to it by the previous name of its possessor, Grey de Ruthin, now viscount Longueville. The collection passed through the hands of lord Sussex into those of lord Calthorpe, at whose residence, 33, Grosvenor Square, they are at present lodged. The editor's thanks are due to lord Calthorpe for the kindness with which he received him, and gave him every facility for copying such documents as he required. It is only necessary here to speak of two or three of the volumes of this collection. The

volumes are mostly in folio, bound in vellum, and the two presses which contained them probably had not been opened for more than twenty-five years at the time when the editor first obtained access to them. A few of the volumes are bound in calf, some being manuscript, and others printed, which do not appear to belong to the same collection. One bound in calf contains a manuscript catalogue, which is perhaps the original from which Smith's catalogue was compiled. At the commencement of this volume it is stated that the Yelverton MSS., vols. i—xiii inclusive, were lent by the late lord Calthorpe for the use of the Record Commission to Sir Francis Palgrave, who appears to have returned them in May 1533. The same volume describes the collection as consisting of 176 volumes of various sizes, deficient of Nos. XV, XVIII, XXII, XXIII, XXVIII, XLI, LVI, LXXXIII, XCIV, XCVII, CXII, CXIII, CXIV, CXXIV, CXXVI, CXXVII, CLXVII. The writer of this gives the date February 1809. At the beginning of the volume are several letters relating to the transference of the collection from lord Sussex to lord Calthorpe. The collection is described in Smith's catalogue as consisting of 187 volumes. Besides the above-mentioned deficiencies, the present editor noticed the absence of Nos. V, LXIV, LXXX, LXXXI, LXXXII, LXXXVI, XCIII, CVI, CXLVII, CLV, CLVII. About a dozen of these volumes are divided into two parts. There is one volume in the collection called Theologia R. 10, an old MS. apparently consisting of copies of papal breves, &c., another not numbered which is lettered 'Charters of London,' and a printed folio volume lettered 'Pamphlets, vol. XXIV.'

Vol. LIX. of this collection is sufficiently described in the note to No. I. of Book III. The other volume,

from which the extract in Part III. Book II. No. XXII is made, requires a fuller description.

It is No. XII of the collection, and appears to be a thin folio volume belonging to Thomas Argall, the notary of the diocese of Winchester, who kept transcripts of such papers as he had himself signed as a witness. Probably this volume is the most valuable of the whole collection, containing as it does a great number of interesting papers of the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Mary, running on into the reign of Elizabeth. Several of these ought to appear in Warham's Register, and some have been printed in Wilkins' Concilia, with a very suspicious reference to that Register *in ann.* The editor has however gone over every page of Warham's Register, and can safely affirm that they are not there, and probably Wilkins took his copy from the same place that Atterbury and Burnet took theirs. It must not be forgotten, however, that No. XXV of the same collection contains several copies made from No. XII, which agree, it is said, exactly with those in No. XII.

The editor cannot however be sure whether Wilkins did not take this paper directly from Burnet, as he was in the habit of making slight alterations occasionally to suit what the sense of the passage seemed to require. He may have copied from No. XII or No. XXV of this collection, as the latter contains copies from the former. No. XII is described on its first leaf thus: '*Liber hic ut puto fuit ipsius Thomæ Argall, Notarii Publici, cujus nomen ad calcem instrumentorum in eo contentorum sæpissime occurrit.*' In the same volume it is said, 'There is a transcript of many of these, and in the front of them it is said by Mr. Beale in his own hand that he

borrowed the book from which he drew these forms from the son of Mr. Say, who was registrar of the Lower House of Convocation.'

In Nichols' Literary Anecdotes, vol. iii. p. 622, the following account is given under the head 'Progress of selling books by Catalogues, by Richard Gough, Esq. 1788;' first printed in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. lviii. p. 1066. He adds from a manuscript note of Mr. Gough's, 'After the sale of a few lots of the Yelverton MSS. the sale was stopped. They were so lotted it was impossible to have proceeded. To know where the remainder are now preserved would be useful information. They were all given by lord Sussex to lord Calthorpe, whose mother was of that family, and at his death had not been opened, nor perhaps since.' The sale alluded to took place in 1784, and fully accounts for the missing volumes; that is to say, the eleven wanted to make up the number from 176 to 187. In Smith's catalogue, published in 1697 it is called 'Bibliotheca Yelvertoniana,' and is described as being in the possession of Henry viscount Longueville. The various names by which this library has been described are easily accounted for. It has been called the Longueville library from Henry, who was created viscount Longueville April 21st, 1690. Before this time it was spoken of as the library of lord Grey de Ruthyn, which was the title he held in succession to his brother Charles, derived to them in right of their mother, Susan baroness Grey de Ruthyn, who had married Sir Henry Yelverton, Bart. It was to this family of Yelvertons that the library originally belonged, having descended to Sir Henry from his father, Sir Christopher, who inherited it from his father Sir Henry, who married Margaret, daughter of Robert

Beale, Esq., Clerk of the Council to queen Elizabeth. From Lord Longueville the library passed to his lineal descendant and representative the earl of Sussex, who transferred it to the late lord Calthorpe, who was also descended from the same lord Longueville through his daughter Barbara.

Mr. Evelyn's MSS.

The last collection of manuscripts, referred to in the first two parts of the History, is that of Mr. Evelyn, now in the Pepysian Collection in Magdalene College library at Cambridge. The editor was unable to get access to this library when he first applied, owing to the absence from Cambridge of every person who was entitled to a key; so he has not seen the originals of Nos. XII and XII* himself. He is indebted for the collation of them to the kindness of the Rev. Samuel Jackson and the Rev. John M. Clark, two of the fellows of the college.

From Evelyn's Memoirs, i. p. 290, it appears that he had at one time been in possession of a considerable number of state papers and other manuscripts. He mentions that some had been lost after they were lent to the duke of Lauderdale, and others which he had lent to Burnet had disappeared at the press. The remainder he had bestowed on a worthy and curious friend, who was not likely to trust a Scotchman with anything that he valued. The passage referring to Burnet is curious. 'But what most of all, and still afflicts me, those letters and papers of the queen of Scots, originals and written with her own hand to queen Elizabeth and earl of Leicester before and during her imprisonment, which I presented to Dr. Burnet, now bishop of Salisbury, some of which being printed in his History of the Reformation, those and

others with them are pretended to have been lost at the press, which has been a quarrel between me and his lordship, who lays the fault on Chiswell; but so as between them I have lost the originals, which had now been safe records, as you will find in that History.' It is unfortunate that only two of them were printed.

References to Printed Works.

It now only remains to notice the scarce printed publications from which some of the documents have been here produced.

At the end of each of these two volumes is an Appendix concerning some of the errors and falsehoods in Sanders' 'Book of the English Schism.' Here the editor felt that it was no part of his duty to comment on either Sanders' or Burnet's statements; he has simply verified the references to the edition of Sanders which the author used, and where an expression was either doubtfully translated or misrepresented, the original passage has been added at the foot of the page.

The first document that has been corrected from lord Herbert's History is the breve of pope Julius in No. XV of Part I. Book II. The author's reference is to Vitellius B. XII, which may very probably be correct: but its suspicious resemblance to the copy printed in Herbert throws some doubt on the reference. Since the volume was printed, the editor has seen another copy of the breve, which at the present moment is in the divorce-box of the year 1530, under the care of the Rev. J. S. Brewer, who is engaged in calendaring the state papers of this period. Herbert's History is too well known to require any further notice here. The original, with several documents connected with the

times, is in Jesus College library, Oxford. It was first published in 1649. The edition which the present editor used is that of 1672. No. V of Book III was also taken from this work, but has been collated for this edition with a MS. at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

The next scarce printed work referred to is the Determination of the Universities of Italy and France, on the Pope's Power of Dispensation as regards the marrying the Widow of a Brother. No further account of this volume need here be given than appears in the notes at p. 166 of the History, and p. 136 of the Records.

The Acts of Parliament have always been collated with the copy in twelve volumes, folio, of Statutes from Magna Carta to Queen Anne, published in 1810–24, by authority of Parliament.

Several documents have been printed from the Bullarium Cherubini. The edition collated was that of Luxembourg, folio, 1727.

No. I of the Collection of Records in Part II is taken from Cardanus de Genituris. Cardan's works are too common to require any further notice. The edition referred to is that of Lyons, 1663, folio.

No. X has been corrected from Anderson's Diplomata Scotiæ, which needs no further notice.

The copy of a letter sent to preachers is sufficiently described in the note to No. XXIV.

The Horæ Beatissimæ Virginis Mariæ are twice referred to, and extracts given in Nos. XXVI and XXIX. In the first instance, the edition of 1526, at Paris, is quoted. And of the two editions printed this year at Paris, the foliation of the octavo corresponds with that given by the author in the first of these documents. Accordingly the corrections were made

from a copy of this edition in the British Museum. But the reference for No. XXIX was in the original folio to the Paris edition of 1520. The editor considers this to have been a mere misprint, as the foliation here agrees with the edition of 1526. The last three paragraphs however do not appear in any edition of the Horæ that the editor has seen. They are in the Salisbury Missal, and probably may be seen in other books of devotion.

As no reference is given for No. XLVI of Part II, Book I, the editor has come to the conclusion that the 'Articles objected to the Duke of Somerset' were taken from Hayward's Life and Reign of King Edward VI. (London 1630. 4to.) He is the rather induced to suppose this, because he is unable to find these Articles in any collection to which Burnet had access at the time of writing these volumes.

Book II of the Second Part commences with the proclamation of lady Jane Grey. With regard to this proclamation the editor is unable to add anything to the information given in the notes, or to account for a remarkable variation in Burnet's text from that of the original proclamation, which he collated at Somerset House. This magnificent collection of proclamations is the most complete in existence, and has supplied in manuscript such as are deficient in the printed copies.

The valuable papers bound up with the copy of the 'De Antiquitate Ecclesiæ Britannicæ,' 1572, have been described at length in the notes to Nos. VIII and IX of Book III. The editor feels that no apology can be necessary for inserting a letter of the date 1721, which shews, what there is no other evidence to shew, that the MS. at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, containing the account of the

consecration of Matthew Parker, is the oldest of all the extant forms. The letter is the more valuable because the document at Cambridge has no signatures to authenticate it, and possesses no internal evidence of its genuineness.

Lastly, it remains to say a few words as to the documents, or parts of documents, that have been admitted into the text of the Second Part of the History.

At p. 41, last line, the editor has for once altered the expression of the text, which Burnet professes to print verbatim; the words, '*to tot upon the earl of Hartford*,' are not those of the Council Book. It would have been more consistent with his usual practice if he had left the words as the author wrote them, and supplied the true reading in a note. In the next page, the same remark applies to the alteration of *good* of the original folio into *goodly* in the present edition. These are the only two instances in which the present edition of the text of the History varies from the author's own words. In other instances in which the author professes to give the exact words of the Council Book, the variation is noticed in a note. Some apology may be thought necessary for an apparent deviation from the original plan of editing, in the increased number of notes at the foot of the page in this volume. This is partly accounted for by the increased experience of the editor as he proceeded with his task; partly by the opportunity afforded in the second volume of enriching the History by extracts from the original Council Books which have never before been printed, and which the editor was the more anxious to insert because almost all historians of this period have referred to a copy of the Council Books in the Har-

leian Collection, and not to the originals in the Privy Council Office. If the work had to be begun again now, he would have inserted the whole of Harmer's Specimen of Errors in footnotes, as the book is a valuable, and, considering the celebrity of the writer, almost an authoritative, correction of Burnet's errors. Several additions have been inserted in the notes from Machyn's Diary which seem to verify or correct the dates assigned to various transactions by the author. Of the other additions in the notes, signed by the different letters B. G. F. S. the author offers no opinion. They have been inserted in many instances simply because they were adopted by the author, and so belong to the book. The only other document printed at length in this part of the History, is the letter of Walsingham to Critoy at the conclusion of the volume. This has been left as Burnet printed it, the editor having been unable to find either the original or the translation. He has since found a copy among the Additional MSS. in the British Museum, and the variations will be found in the *Addenda et Corrigenda.*

Documents referred to in Part III.

Between the publication of the first two parts of the History and the appearance of the third, there was an interval of thirty-three years; and during that time the author had opportunity of access from time to time to various collections of which he was ignorant at the time of the earlier publication.

The three letters from Wolsey to the king, forming Nos. VII, VIII, IX, of the First Book of the Collection of Records appended to this Part, were lent to the author by Sir William Cook. Though the editor

had been unable to trace the originals, the loss was of no importance, as he has seen three copies which are undoubtedly independent, and the text is as certain as if it had been collated with the originals. The same remark applies to No. XIII, which had been copied by Wharton; and as there is no variation in the two copies, which are unquestionably independent, recourse to the original was not necessary. The editor has since learned that these documents, which ought to have been at Holkham, lord Leicester's seat, are not to be found there.

The three letters from the king to the University of Oxford, printed in No. XVII, were sent to the author by Dr. Kennett; and they have been corrected from the Bodleian MS. from which Kennett copied them, as also has No. XXVII of this Book.

Rymer's MSS.

No. XVIII in this collection is the first of the transcripts made from Rymer's MSS. The editor corrected this and the others from the same MSS, which are in the Sloane Collection in the British Museum. He has since seen the original of this letter in the Public Record Office, and has noticed the errors amongst the *Addenda et Corrigenda*. Rymer's MSS. consists of five thick folio volumes in the Sloane Collection, Nos. 4573–4630. An index to them is given at the end of the seventeenth volume of the Fœdera, and from this the editor found the three documents which Burnet printed at length from them. The original of the first he has since seen at the Record Office, and the collation of it has induced him to think very meanly of Rymer's powers of supplying the deficiencies of a Latin document. It

should be observed here, that if every slight variation from the manuscript had been noticed, this paper alone would have contained sixty errors. Though the editor has himself attended to the exact spelling of Latin words, he has not thought it worth while to notice insignificant mistakes of *c* for *t*, and *vice versâ*, in such words as *suspitio*, &c. But independently of these, there were one or two careless mistakes of copying, and several of the conjectures were gross blunders. To understand these conjectures it is necessary to explain that the document has been torn down the middle, and lost a few letters in the middle of every line of the first five or six pages. Most of the words which have been supplied from conjecture, and which are marked with an asterisk, have a letter at the beginning or the end remaining, and Rymer has substituted words which he must have known did not correspond to the original; and has moreover, in several instances, quite destroyed the grammar of the passage. Thus in p. 43 there is no clue to the commencement of the word *factitari:* the last five letters alone remain, but the sense plainly requires *dubitari*. In the same page there is no room for more than three letters where Rymer inserted the words *in partibus*. There can be no doubt that the word was *id* or *hoc* or *quod*. And in the next line there is enough remaining to enable the editor to pronounce that the word was *nisi*. Similarly of the word *inter*, which does not suit the sense, and for which there is no room, and for which *per* has been substituted. In p. 45 there is just room for *com* before the word *memoravimus*, but no notice was taken of the gap. As regards No. XXV, the editor regrets to say that he has not been able to discover the original, which is, he believes,

not in the State Paper Office. The same may be said of No. XXVI, which was printed from the Fœdera. No. XXXV has been again compared with the copy in the State Paper Office, from which Rymer undoubtedly copied. The variations are unimportant. Rymer's copy agreed more nearly with the copy in the State Paper Office than with that from which Strype printed.

Of the Collection from which No. XXII is taken enough has been already said. This document was printed off before that in the Second Part, and also before the editor had received permission to collate the Longueville MSS. in lord Calthorpe's possession. The forged reference given by Wilkins to Warham's register deceived the editor into thinking that Wilkins' copy was independent, which it was not; and thus two or three unimportant variations from the copy have crept into the text, which will however be found noticed amongst the Corrigenda. It is right to add that the original, in such words as *computationem*, almost invariably uses the letter *c* in the place of *t*; but it was not thought worth while to chronicle such slight differences, as the mode of spelling of these words is far from uniform.

The injunctions which appear in Nos. LVII, LVIII, LIX, were printed at the time, and ought to have been inserted in the registers of the respective bishops who issued them. But in neither case does it appear that they were so inserted. And the editor has been unable to get a sight of any of them, excepting those of Shaxton, bishop of Salisbury, a copy of which is in the Douce collection at Oxford.

Number LXVII is taken from the Tanner collection now at Oxford. The editor's acknowledgments are due (in common with those of all persons who

have occasion to refer to this collection) for the very valuable catalogue made by Mr. Hackman; but he specially wishes to return his thanks to Mr. Hackman for assistance rendered in collating some of these papers.

As regards the important examination of Catharine Howard, the editor has here to revoke his conjecture as to its having been once in the Cotton Collection in the mutilated volume, Otho C. X. He has no doubt now that the author printed it from bishop Moore's manuscripts.

The last three books of the History commence with a new numeration of Records. Probably the object of this was to assimilate the arrangements of this volume to those of the former two, so that the first half should be a supplement to the volume relating to the reign of Henry VIII, and the latter should fill up the gap in the history of the three succeeding reigns. Number III of this second portion, which commences with Book IV, first introduces us to the Zurich letters. Mont's letter, together with three others in Burnet's series, do not appear in the Epistolæ Tigurinæ. For the collation of them all, as well as for the information that one other letter, which professedly comes from the archives at Zurich, is not to be found there, the editor is indebted to Dr. Horner, the chief librarian of the city library. This gentleman, with admirable skill and industry, copied out or collated every paper about which the editor applied to him, and the copy of one of Bullinger's autograph letters was returned by him from Zurich with between four and five hundred corrections. Bullinger wrote a very bad hand, so that Burnet made some most ludicrous mistakes in copying it; but Dr. Horner took the trouble of

noting even the slightest variations in the stops and the initial capitals; omitting these, the errors perhaps did not exceed a hundred and fifty. With regard to the other papers which were printed from the Zurich archives, they were all full of the grossest blunders. They have not however been corrected by reference to the original MSS, because the editor found reason to be satisfied with the collation which had been previously made for the Parker Society. In the case of Jewel's letters he had an additional safeguard in Dr. Jelf's collation for his edition of the works of Jewel, published some years ago at the University Press, Oxford. A comparison of the two copies, though they did not agree in every minute particular, satisfied the editor that it would be a waste of labour to proceed to Zurich to make a new collation for himself, which he had at first intended.

The Norwich MSS.

No. VIII is the first of these documents belonging to the registry at Norwich. The author had not seen the originals himself, but copies were transmitted to him by Dr. Tanner, who was at that time chancellor of Norwich, and afterwards bishop of S. Asaph. The volume in which this mandate is contained is described at length in the note at p. 300. The addition of the names of the subscribers to the forty-two articles will be acceptable to the reader, because it is believed that these are the only names that ever were subscribed to these articles. The editor cannot speak positively on this point, as the only registers in which he knows of these articles being inserted are those of Coverdale bishop of Exeter, Ridley of London, and Thirlby of Norwich;

and there are no signatures in Ridley's, nor were there ever intended to be, and the articles inserted are in English not in Latin. It seems probable that Coverdale's was meant to receive the signatures of the clergy, inasmuch as the articles are written in a separate book, and several leaves are left, apparently for names, but no names are subscribed excepting that of Coverdale himself. The volume is twelve inches by nine, and consists of thirty leaves.

The editor has here to make his best acknowledgments to John Kitson, Esq., the registrar of the bishop and dean and chapter of Norwich, for the kind reception he met with from him on both occasions of his visit to that city, as well as for the assistance he derived from him in deciphering the names, some of which were extremely illegible. On the first occasion of searching for this volume it could not be found, and it was not till some months afterwards that the editor was informed by Mr. Bensley that it had been accidentally discovered. At the first search nothing could be discovered but a folio volume, with dates from 1550 to 1559, containing a meagre list of institutions to benefices, &c., during the episcopates of Thirlby, Hopton, and Cox. At his second visit to Norwich the editor discovered several papers of considerable value amongst the books belonging to the dean and chapter. These especially related to the reigns of Edward VI and Mary. He may be allowed here to express his regret that the magnificent collection of documents now existing in the muniment room of the cathedral should remain in such a neglected state. There must be treasures of immense value there, which are lost for want of being catalogued. As regards No. XII, he has been

obliged to content himself with the copy made by Humphrey Prideaux, dean of Norwich, which is in the Tanner Collection at Oxford. There can be no doubt the book from which this was transcribed is still at Norwich, but the editor could not find it. No. XXXIII. is in the same volume with No. VIII. It was copied with such gross carelessness that it did not seem desirable to reproduce the errors of a scribe who knew nothing or next to nothing of Latin, especially in a document of which there are probably many copies existing in the different registries in the kingdom. The editor accordingly only took notice of the variations which appeared to leave it doubtful what was the word in the original, as it came from the archbishop. The same observation applies to No. XXXIV. It must be remembered that all the documents from Norwich were printed by the author from copies made by Tanner or Prideaux; and perhaps his inability to read their handwriting will account for, if it does not excuse, a considerable number of errors in the printed copy.

Cardinal Pole's Legatine Register.

The next set of documents to be noticed are the Records of Part III. Book V. from No. XV to No. XXX inclusive. And here the editor regrets to say he is entirely at fault. In the margin of No. XV, as well as of No. XVII, appear the words *Ex MS. penes me.* And the natural inference would be, as all these letters and documents refer to the same subject, that they were taken from the same source. The fact that the marginal reference is repeated at No. XVII, would scarcely be

thought to militate against this hypothesis in the case of so very careless a writer as Bishop Burnet. But by reference to the text of the History, p. 230, it will appear more probable that Nos. XV and XVI do not belong to the same collection of MSS as the following Records, which are spoken of as forming a part of cardinal Pole's register, which, according to his own account was conveyed to the author about a year after his second volume was printed. The first reference then, *Ex MS. penes me*, probably refers only to No. XV, and to No. XVI, which is an answer to it. Both have been printed in Quirini, as is stated in the notes *ad loc.*, and the variations in the first half of the cardinal's letter and in the whole of the queen's are not more numerous than would be likely to occur in the case of their being transcripts from the same original, but the latter half of the first letter, as printed by Sanders, and from him by Raynaldus and Quirini, contains too many variations to allow of the supposition of Sanders having transcribed from the same original as Burnet. Both seem to have several mistakes of copying, but Burnet's upon the whole looks more like a transcript from a draft, and Sanders' as if taken from a more corrected and polished copy.

After these letters were in type, and whilst they were going through the press, the editor found an Italian copy of the second in the Vatican transcripts in the British Museum. It is there stated that the version was made from the English. It corresponds throughout with the original Latin, as printed by Burnet, excepting that the conclusion in the Latin copy is somewhat shortened, and the words *vostra amicissima* of the Italian are omitted in the Latin.

In all probability both letters were written in English and afterwards translated into Latin.

With regard to the documents from No. XVII to No. XXX, there can be no doubt that they all, with one exception, belong to the same missing register. This register, if the author's statement is to be relied on, was sent to him in 1682, or at the latest in 1683, about a year after the appearance of the second volume of his History, which bears date 1681. He says moreover that a short account of the most remarkable things in it was then printed in a letter directed to himself. This publication however bears the date of 1685. It is a quarto pamphlet of forty pages, entitled 'A letter written to Dr. Burnet, giving an account of cardinal Pool's secret powers; from which it appears that it was never intended to confirm the alienation that was made of the abbey lands. To which are added two breves that cardinal Pool brought over, and some other of his letters that were never before printed.' This volume contains Nos. XVII, XXI, XXVIII, and XXX, prefaced by a letter signed W. C. (i. e. Sir William Coventry), which gives a full account of all the other documents which are here printed. The description corresponds very nearly with that given in the text of the History, pp. 230–236; and indeed the author evidently copies occasionally not only the style, but the very words of his correspondent; but W. C.'s account plainly implies that the register contained many more letters and other documents than were printed by Burnet. Thus he speaks of four breves, only three of which—that of July 10 being omitted—appear in Burnet; as also of several letters that passed between the cardinal and the bishop of Arras: an expression which seems to indicate a

larger number than the three which appear in Nos. XVIII, XXV, XXVI. Again, to correspond to what the writer says of 'others that passed between Pool and the cardinal de Monte, and cardinal Morone and Soto, the emperor's confessor,' we have here only two letters addressed to the cardinal de Monte, and one from Morone to Pole. Also the expression 'some of Pole's letters to the pope and to Philip,' implies at least a larger number than the one to the pope in No. XXVIII, and the two addressed to the king in Nos. XXVII and XXX.

In another passage a letter from Pole to Soto is alluded to, which was written August 12th from Diligam Abbey, which must be one of those mentioned before. And between this and October 13th mention is made of 'some letters of no great consequence,' some of which have been printed in these Records. The author also alludes to another letter (p. 234) which must have been in the same collection, viz. one written by Philip from Winchester, August 4th, to which No. XXVII is the answer. There are two more letters mentioned by the author, one from the bishop of Arras of August 11, and another from Pole to Soto dated September 2. Both of these appear in Leti's Life of Elizabeth.

The volume of Additional MSS. 15,338, in the British Museum, consists nearly entirely of letters to and from cardinal Pole. There are other very interesting documents relating to English affairs, all of them 'ex regesto literarum Cardinalis Poli, tomo 19.' They are nearly all in Italian. The volume 15,401 is a chronological index to all the Vatican transcripts which occupy vols. 15,351–15,398. The volumes numbered 15,399 and 15,400 contain a catalogue of the contents; but the writer has, with unaccountable

carelessness, omitted to give the dates. It is remarkable that these letters, with the exception of two or three, are printed neither in Quirini nor, as far as the editor knows, elsewhere. It would be impossible in this Preface to give an account of their contents, but it may be useful to give their dates and addresses. They are as follows :—There are two from Pole to the pope, August 7 and August 12, 1553, and one to the Cardinal de Monte August 12, all from the monastery of Magazzano. The next is from the bishop of Arras to Pole, from Mons, September 7. Then come two from Pole to the pope and Monte, both dated September 28, from Isola del Lago di Garda, and two more to Monte, of September 30, from Trent; then another to the pope, without date, but alluding to the previous letter from Trent. Then comes the queen's letter to Pole of October 8, which is printed by Burnet with the date October 10. The letter was certainly written in English, and it seems possible that the translator of it into Latin forgot that October is one of the four months in which the Ides fall on the 15th. 'Sexto idus Octobris' is therefore the 10th, but would have been the 8th if the Ides had fallen on the 13th. It is possible however that this may be a mere error of transcribing or printing. The next four letters are written from Dillingen : the first to Monte, October 21 ; the next to the pope, October 27 ; and the two others to Monte, October 31 and December 14. The next is addressed from Brussels to the pope, and is dated January 28, 1554. The two next are both of February 2, and both addressed to Monte ; and the two following to the pope, both of February 12 ; and the last two from Brussels in this month are of February 25, to Monte; and February 28, to the pope. Then come five letters

to Monte: the first from Fontainebleau, April 4; the next from Paris, April 9; the remaining three from Brussels, April 24, July 22, and July 29. (This last is the same which is printed in the Collection of Records, Book V. No. XIX.) The next is to the bishop of Arras, from the monastery of Diligam, September 27; the next two to the pope and Monte, from Brussels, October 14. After these comes a letter from the queen to Pole, dated Westminster, October 15; then two from Pole to the pope, dated Brussels, October 19 and October 23; one on the same day to Monte; and another to the pope from the same place, October 25. Next comes one from Pole to the emperor, from Diligam Abbey, October 28; and another to Monte, from Brussels, November 7. The next is a letter from the queen to Pole, from Hampton Court, September 28; the next two from Pole to the pope: the first from Brussels, November 11, and the other from Diligam Abbey, November 13; and then one to Monte, from the same place, November 26. The next is from the queen to Pole from Westminster, November 18; and the next is addressed from London by Pole to Monte, November 27. The next letter is a translation from Spanish into Italian, and was written by Philip to the pope, from London, November 30. The next is not signed, but is written by Pole, December 13, from London to the French king. After which follow some other letters from Philip and Mary to the pope, and some other documents in Latin. There are a few other documents in the volume that have not been noticed here. The above catalogue has been given, as these documents form a valuable supplement to Quirini's collection.

With regard to all these documents then, from No. XVII to No. XXX inclusive, with the exception of

No. XXIX, the editor has been unable to correct them, excepting in the case of Nos. XVII, XXI, XXVIII, and XXX, of which he has had the advantage of two independent copies, viz. that printed by Burnet and that by W. C.; and No. XXIV, which is also given by Leti. He has had the further advantage of copies of XXI, XXVII, and XXX, in Quirini.

For No. XIX. there is a tolerably correct copy in Leti, as well as another amongst the Vatican transcripts; and all the three copies agree, except in manifest errors of press in Burnet and Leti, or slight variations in spelling. Of part of No. XX there is a transcript in Johnston's Assurance of Church Lands; and of No. XXVIII there is a copy among the Vatican transcripts.

No. XXIX, which might have been supposed likely to belong to the same collection, is in the State Paper Office; so that Burnet must have taken it from a transcript if he found it in the register. It is more probable however that he accidentally forgot to put the marginal reference to this document.

It should be added that most of these copies were so full of misprints that the editor has in several cases corrected the spelling of words. In so doing he is aware that he may have occasionally somewhat modernized the Italian, but he believes no instance of this kind has been admitted for which there was not a precedent in Cardinal Pole's other letters. For valuable assistance in revising these documents the editor is indebted to Signor Damiani of Clifton.

As regards No. XXXV, this was also taken from a copy sent to the author by Tanner, and professes to be extracted from a book by Anthony Style, notary public. The loss of this book, which probably contained nothing but copies of documents which the

possessor had attested, is not to be regretted as far as this edition is concerned, for the editor was fortunate enough to discover, by the help of Kennett's memoranda, the original draft among the Harleian MSS; and the comparison of the document, as originally printed, with that now exhibited, will shew how much has been gained by the collation.

It is not necessary to notice further the wrong reference to the Paper Office for No. XXXVII, as it was too palpable a blunder to mislead for a moment. No. XXXVIII is also from the Tanner Collection in the Bodleian, and has been collated with the original.

The Hamilton MSS.

These are four documents, included in Nos. LV, LXVI, and LXVIII, which are copied from originals at Hamilton. The editor had heard of the difficulty of gaining admittance to this library. During the time when he was endeavouring to get an introduction in order to collate these papers, the duke died; and upon application being made to the present duke's guardians, the answer was given that it would not be possible to give admission to the MSS. The editor has therefore been obliged to do the best he could. As regards No. LV he has corrected from a copy, the accuracy of which he has had no means of testing. No. LXVI he has been obliged to leave in the condition in which it was originally printed. Of No. LXVIII he is glad to be able to give an accurate representation, as it has been exactly transcribed by the editor of the Acta Parliamenti Scotiæ, who may be entirely trusted. In both the instances where the names were subscribed he has added them.

The Libraries at Glasgow and Edinburgh.

No. XCV is a solitary instance of a document taken from the original in the library of the university of Glasgow. The editor was unsuccessful in his applications to the librarian; but there is another copy, with autograph signatures, in the Advocates' library at Edinburgh. For the extremely accurate collation of these names, and of those affixed to the following document, as well as for other valuable assistance, the editor returns his most grateful thanks to David Laing, Esq., of Edinburgh.

Controversies that arose out of the publication of the first two Parts in 1679 *and* 1681.

The first remonstrance, which was sent to the author a very few weeks after the publication of the first volume, was from Anthony Wood, the author of the Athenæ Oxonienses. The letter bears date July 5, 1679, and in it Wood defends himself from some misrepresentations which the author had made in the passage at p. 86 of Part I, which was interpolated in the first volume as it was going through the press. Both Baker and Fulman appear to have commented on the unfair treatment Wood's assertions had met with, as may be seen by their notes on the passage in question. This letter appeared in the Appendix to the Third Part of the History, which was published in 1715 long after, Wood's death. The author in his Preface (p. ix.) remarks that he wrote some short remarks on the paper at the time; that one remark was added by Lloyd, dean of Bangor (at the time of the publication of the third volume

bishop of Worcester), and that they were sent to Fell, bishop of Oxford, to be communicated to him. Whether they were or not the author was unable to say, and it does not appear that the dispute went any farther.

The author seems to have been extremely sensitive, not only as to his own work, but as regarded any aspersions thrown on the transactions connected with the Reformation. From Wood's account (Life, p. 214) it appears that Sir Harbottle Grimston had been informed by Burnet of 'many unseemly things of the Reformation,' published by Wood in his Historia Universitatis Oxoniensis, which came out in 1675, and that he made a speech in the House of Commons complaining of this and other popish books printed at the Theatre in Oxford.

But the point on which he was especially sensitive was the fidelity of his transcripts from records. And on this point he was subjected to several very unjust attacks; for though the present edition shews that they were copied with extreme carelessness, there is no evidence to prove that they were wilfully perverted. An instance of this occurred in 1684, when Mr. Simon Lowth's book on the subject of Church Power came out. It provoked no less than three letters from Burnet, vindicating himself from a mere misrepresentation. The matter is not of much importance, but it belongs to our subject and ought not to be wholly omitted. The dispute was on the subject of the Records in Book I. Part III. No. XXI, where the author had given due notice of the alteration he had made in the arrangement of the answers —the MS. giving the questions with the answers of each divine separately; the printed text having placed together the whole body of answers to each question,

and arranged the questions separately. It will be seen by reference to p. 243, that Cranmer's name is signed to Leighton's paper as an attestation of its genuineness. The accuser thought that it was signed as endorsing Leighton's opinions, which in some points differed from Cranmer's, and argues that this, as indicating a change of opinion on Cranmer's part, should have been noticed; and upon this the author observes in his first letter that the accusation was that he had 'printed them imperfect, and so had abused the House of Commons unto an approbation of' his History of the Reformation. He was further accused of varying from the words of the record, on the ground that his representation did not agree with the copy which the dean of Windsor, Dr. Durell, had printed. The account which the author gives of this variation is, that probably they had been put into Latin or French, and retranslated by Dr. Durell, and then he gives in parallel columns the words his antagonist had cited in English from Durell at p. 485 of his book. The two columns have precisely the same meaning, and whatever the account of the variation may be, it is certain that Burnet's represents the original in words, and the other only in sense.

Lowth's book, though published with the date 1685 on its title-page, was evidently in print during the year before, and had been written and shewn about in manuscript in London and elsewhere more than two years before. The author in his preface complains that it had been 'with a forcible hand, by threats and awes, from thence to this day, been either withheld from or in the press.' He asserts that the subject which he treats of, viz. the power committed by Christ to his apostles and their successors the bishops, has caused the attempt to

suppress his work, though the alleged reason was the attack on Tillotson and Stillingfleet. And the preface concludes with a copy of his letter addressed to these two deans, dated May 1, 1683. In it he accuses them of promulgating the doctrine that the king has power to ordain and do all pastoral offices in his own person or devolve it upon others, and of supporting it by unfaithfully copying out a MS. which represents Cranmer as being of this opinion, and 'occasioning it to be printed thus imperfect among the Records of the Church in Doctor Burnet's Church History, and abusing the House of Commons to a public approbation of it; giving to the Church of Rome what their emissaries have all along been still gibing us with and fathering upon us, but till by you, repelled with scorn.' The object of the book is to shew, 1. That Church power does not reside in the people; 2. Nor in the prince; 3. That it is a constitution of itself emanating directly from Christ.

Durell's book was written in Latin, and came out in a quarto volume in 1669, with the title 'Sanctæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ adversus iniquas atque inverecundas Schismaticorum criminationes Vindiciæ: Authore Johanne Durello, Sanctæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Presbytero, Regiæ Majestati a Sacris.' The twenty-eighth chapter is devoted to demonstrating the divine institution of episcopacy as held by the Church of England. And the author found it necessary to vindicate his view against the alleged opinion of Cranmer's, which he at first doubted, and seemed inclined to impugn the genuineness of the document from which Stillingfleet had printed Cranmer's expressions, which seemed to him to be too Erastian to represent the archbishop's real opinions. However,

when he had had access to the manuscript, he found Stillingfleet had described Cranmer's view exactly, though he had made a mistake in attributing its expression to the time of Edward VI instead of the end of Henry VIII's reign. Stillingfleet immediately acknowledged his error, when it was pointed out to him that these questions were answered by Edward Lee, archbishop of York, who died in 1544. With regard to his representation of Cranmer's opinions, there was nothing to retract, and Durell proceeded to vindicate Cranmer as best he could by alleging that he had spoken under correction, &c., and especially by referring to his signature as placed on Leighton's paper. This he took for granted was meant to endorse Leighton's opinion, which was contradictory to his own; and he urges it as an instance of Cranmer's candour that he should have been willing so distinctly to avow his change of opinion. But the fact that Cranmer's name appears on Robertson's as well as Leighton's paper, is sufficient evidence that it is merely an attestation of the genuineness of the signatures. The first appearance of Cranmer's opinions, as stated in this paper, was in Stillingfleet's Irenicum, first published in 1662. Stillingfleet very naturally laid great stress on Cranmer's judgment, which entirely coincided with his own at that period on the subject, that bishops and priests were in early times the same, and that episcopacy was not 'a distinct order from presbytery of Divine right, but only a prudent constitution of the civil magistrate for the better governing in the Church.' (Irenicum, p. 393.)

Lowth's attack upon Stillingfleet is in the last chapter, where the author gives his opinion that the papers in the Cottonian library (printed afterwards in the Third Part of the History) are the same or at least

belong to the same occasion with that MS. which Stillingfleet had published in part in his Irenicum, assigning it to Edward VI's reign. He represents Stillingfleet as in error as to the time, and accuses both Burnet and Stillingfleet of unfaithfully transcribing it, giving the words as they appear in Durell's Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Vindiciæ. Lowth does not lay any stress on the curious variation in the words, which after all contain the same sense in Durell's version as in the correct copy given by Stillingfleet and Burnet; but lays great stress on their having misrepresented Cranmer's opinion by omitting his name as subscribed to Dr. Leighton's judgment. His name being subscribed to an opinion the contradictory of what he had himself in another paper expressed, appeared to Lowth to indicate a change of opinion which he accuses Stillingfleet of having designedly suppressed because it thwarted his particular design of representing so considerable an authority as that of Cranmer on the side that ordination is not appropriated to bishops. He professes however his inability to determine why they should have been left out by Dr. Burnet.

The answer occupies eight quarto pages, and is dated from London December 20, 1684. It ought to have set the question at rest; but Lowth's defence was undertaken by another writer, to whom is addressed another pamphlet of eight pages, called 'An Answer to a Letter to Dr. Burnet, occasioned by his Letter to Mr. Lowth.' The accusation replied to in this was that he had omitted signing the name T. Cantuarien. to Leighton's assertion concerning Church Power. The reply was to the effect that the mode of arrangement of the Questions with the Answers precluded his doing so, as Cranmer's name is only

added once at the end of Leighton's paper. The letter had been published anonymously; but Burnet in his reply intimates that no one could mistake the author, whom he accuses of being disappointed, 'because in the late disposal of bishoprics the secretary to the Primitive Church was forgotten, he who but a year ago set his Majesty above Christ himself, and taxed the expression of praying for the king as supreme under Christ, as crude, not to call it profane.' The date of this letter is 1685. It was soon after followed by another dated January 24, headed, 'A Letter occasioned by the Second Letter to Dr. Burnet, written to a Friend.' This letter occupies eight pages, but being in smaller print contains a much larger amount of matter than the other two letters. This also was an answer to a nameless paper. The author does not appear in this instance to know his antagonist, but at the advice of his friends writes, not for the information of his accuser, but to give the world a clear account of the matters. The explanation given is the very obvious one that Cranmer was not expressing his assent to the paper when he placed his name upon it. There is nothing else worthy of note in the pamphlet, except that the author here tells us that the paper written by the bishop of St. David's is lost, and that he agreed with Thirlby, Cox, and Redmayn, that 'bishops and priests were all one in the beginning.' Whoever was the writer of the first letter to Dr. Burnet, occasioned by his letter to Dr. Lowth, it is quite plain from the contents of Burnet's answer that he was fully persuaded the writer was Samuel Parker, at that time prebendary of Canterbury, afterwards in 1686 bishop of Oxford. And though he does not speak so positively, he evidently thinks the second paper was by the same hand.

The next public allusion to the History has been already spoken of in explaining a passage in one of Burnet's letters to Fulman. And it was provoked by the author's condemnation of Heylyn's Ecclesia Restaurata in the preface to his first edition, p. 6. The writer of the Life of Heylyn, after noticing the accusation that 'some persons, and those of most illustrious quality, had been perverted from the Protestant faith to Popery by reading some of the Doctor's books, and particularly that which he writ about the History of the Reformation called Ecclesia Restaurata,' adds that—

> Mr. Burnet in his late History upon the same subject, has done all he can to confirm the world in that belief. For after a short commendation of Dr. Heylyn's style and method (it being usual with some men slightly to praise those at first, whom they design to sting and lash afterward) he presumes to tell his reader, that either the doctor was 'ill-informed, or very much led by his passions, and he being wrought on by most violent prejudices against some that were concerned in that time, delivers many things in such a manner, and so strangely, that one would think that he had been secretly set on to it by those of the Church of Rome, though I doubt not but he was a sincere Protestant, but violently carried away by some particular conceits. In one thing he is not to be excused, that he never vouched any authority for what he writ; which is not to be forgiven any who write of transactions beyond their own time, and deliver us things not known before.'
>
> This objection having many particular charges contained in it, will require as many distinct answers, which I shall give in short. And first, if it be true that any have embraced the Roman faith, by means of that book, he may conclude them to be very incompetent judges in the matters of religion, that will be prevailed upon to change it upon the perusal of one single history; and especially in the controversies between us and the Papists, which do not depend upon matter of fact, or an historical narration of what occurrences happened in this

kingdom, but upon doctrine of faith, what we are to believe and disbelieve, in order to our serving God in this life, and being eternally blessed with him in the next. Secondly, as for his vouching no authority for what he writ, which is not to be forgiven him, I hope the doctor has met with a more merciful judge in another world, than Mr. Burnet is in this. If he had been a factor for Papists, Mr. Burnet should have presented one particular instance, which he cannot do. As we have said before in his Life, he communicated that design of his History of Reformation to Archbishop Laud, from whom he received all imaginable encouragement, by ancient records that he perused. And what benefit could any reader receive, to have quoted to him the pages of manuscripts, acts of parliament, records of old charters, registers of convocation, orders of the council-table, or any of those out of the Cottonian Library, which the doctor made use of. The Lord Bacon writ of transactions beyond his own time, living as far distant from the reign of king Henry VII as Dr. Heylyn did from king Henry VIII, who laid the first foundation of the Reformation, yet I cannot find there more quotations of authors than in Dr. Heylyn's History; yet I suppose Mr. Burnet will look upon the Lord Bacon's History as complete. And if all this were made out, it is no more than what may be laid at the door of the author, who lately writ the History of Duke Hamilton, where are reported the most abominable scandals that were broached by the malicious covenanters against the Scottish hierarchy, and they are permitted without the least contradiction or confutation to pass as infallible truths, that so posterity, as well as the present prejudiced age might be leavened with an implacable enmity and hatred against the whole order of episcopacy. Although the Hamiltons were the old inveterate enemies of the Stuarts; and the duke of whom the History is compiled, was an enemy as treacherous to king Charles I. as any that ever appeared against him in open arms. He was the cause of the first tumult raised in Edenburgh: he authorised the covenant with some few alterations in it, and generally imposed it on that kingdom. He was the chief person that prevailed with the king to continue the parliament during the pleasure of the two houses, and boasted how he

had got a perpetual parliament for the English, and would do the like for the Scots. He aimed at nothing less than the crown of Scotland, and had so courted the common soldiers, that David Ramsey openly began a health to king James VII. yet all these things, with many others, are either quite smothered, or so painted over by Mr. Burnet, that the volume he has writ may be called an apology or a panegyrick, rather than a history. Of all these matters the doctor hath acquainted the world before in the Life of Archbishop Laud, and the observations that he wrote upon Mr. l'Estrange's History of king Charles I. I will be bold to aver, if the doctor had employed his great learning and abilities to have written but one half of those things against the King and Church of England, which he wrote for them, he would have been accounted by very many persons (I will not say by Mr. Burnet) the truest Protestant, the most faithful historian, the greatest scholar, and in their own phrase the most precious man, that ever yet breathed in the nation. But he had the good luck to be a scholar, and better luck to employ his learning like an honest man and a good Christian, in the defence of a righteous and pious king, of an apostolical and true Church, of a venerable and learned clergy, and that drew upon him all the odium and malice, that two opposite parties, papist and sectary, could heap upon him.

Nothing further occurred with reference to the publication of this work till after the appearance of the second edition of the second volume, when Mr. Thomas Granger sent the author his paper of remarks in a letter dated February 7, 1684. He never seems to have discovered who Mr. Granger was, and all that can be now ascertained of him is that he was vicar of Lamerton, as the editor is informed by the Rev. H. J. Phillpotts, the present vicar, from 1669 till 1710, and that he was buried March 16th of that year. As Burnet had at that time been more than twenty years bishop of Salisbury, the expression in his preface to the Third Part, that upon his settling at Salisbury he inquired after him, but was

told that he was dead, seems to imply that he did not trouble himself much to ascertain whether the information was true or not. During the next year, upon the accession of James II, the author obtained leave to quit the country, and went to Paris, where he remained till near the end of August 1685.

The author of the 'Character &c.' published in 1715, says (p. 7) that 'a sermon that he preached at the Rolls, in which he published the curses that king James I. entailed upon all his posterity that ever turned Papist, set the fury of the court against him;' that he then fled into Holland and foreign countries, and 'by the observations he made in his travels shewed that the whole world could be a library to him, nor did he lose his learning with his books.' The sermon was preached Nov. 5, 1684, and in it at p. 7 Burnet quotes the protestation of James I, 'That he would never so much as grant a toleration of that religion, but would spend the last drop of blood in his body before he would do it; and prayed that before any of his issue should maintain any other religion than what he truly professed and maintained, that God would take them out of the world.'

The History had then been translated into French, and was much read and talked about. A written censure upon it by 'a person of distinction at Paris' had at the time passed through several hands, but was never printed. The author had a copy of it; but when he came to publish his Third Part, he could not find it amongst his papers; but the answer which he had written to it, and procured to be translated into French, and, as he says, was favourably received by many in Paris, was added as a third portion of the Appendix to the additional volume which was

published in 1715. The Censure was procured for the author by M. Auzout, to whom also the answer was addressed, dated from Paris the 10th of August 1685. The Censure itself was no doubt written by Le Grand. The author soon after quitted Paris for a tour of some months in Switzerland and Italy. During this journey he first became acquainted with the Zurich Letters, of which he gave a brief account at p. 42 of his Letters addressed to the Hon. Robert Boyle, containing an account of what seemed most remarkable in Switzerland, Italy, &c. Many of these were afterwards printed in the Records appended to the third volume. The last of these letters is dated from Nymegen, May 20, 1686. He remained in the country for some years, and during this time published various works, many of which have more or less reference to the History of the Reformation.

The first of these was entitled 'Reflections on Mr. Varillas's History of the Revolutions that have happened in Europe in matters of Religion, and more particularly on his Ninth Book that relates to England.' It was provoked by the appearance of two quarto volumes at Paris in the year 1686, entitled 'Histoire des Révolutions arrivées dans l'Europe en matière de Religion. Par Monsieur Varillas.' The running title of this book is, 'Histoire de l'Hérésie.' Varillas had for some years been engaged in publishing volumes of history which even at that time were pretty well known to the learned men in France to be rather romances than pieces of true history, though he had managed to establish a reputation in foreign countries. This work was divided into ten books, five of which are in the first volume, five in the second; and the ninth professes to give an

account of the English Reformation. Another impression of the work appeared in the same year at Amsterdam. This edition is of a very small 12mo size, and it is perhaps worth while to mention here that it will frequently be found advertised in booksellers' catalogues as if printed at Paris. The reason of this is that the Amsterdam edition has no name of place or printer; and, unless the title-page is carefully read, would be taken by any one to have been printed at Paris. But, though there is no name of the printer inserted, the type as well as the vignettes in the book, plainly shew its Dutch origin. The title-page precisely resembles that of a French book, except that before the words *A Paris* are inserted in italics, *Suivant la copie imprimée.* Otherwise the title follows that of the original book even in the insertion of the words *Avec privilége du Roy.* Varillas, though he accuses Burnet of partiality, could scarcely have read the History of the Reformation, or he would not have committed so many and such egregious mistakes of fact; and, as the author in this pamphlet observes, his work had been for three years so much read in France that Varillas ought to have alleged somewhat in justification of his censure. The accusation probably originated in a report of the intended publication of Le Grand's History, for which the vast collection of MSS in the King's Library had been searched, it being moreover reported that many points in the History would be enlarged upon, and that the writer in some things would differ from our author.

The pamphlet further informs us of what is related in the Introduction, p. iii. that during the summer of 1685 M. Thevenot and M. Auzout brought Burnet and Le Grand together in the King's library, where

they appear to have had an amicable conversation in the presence of both these persons with regard to many points mentioned in the History. There is nothing else in the volume which throws any light upon the composition of this History, till near the conclusion, at p. 191, where the author repeats the assertion which he had previously made in the Addenda to the first volume (see Part I p. 323 of this edition), that since writing the account of Anne Boleyn's trial he had procured a sight of 'the original record of her process.' The rest of the volume consists of a minute investigation of the assertions of Varillas, with the author's replies to them *seriatim*.

The dispute between Le Grand and Burnet rested here till the publication by the former of his celebrated History of the Divorce. But that between our author and Varillas was kept up during the whole of the interval. The Reflections were followed up in the succeeding year by 'A Defence of the Reflections on the Ninth Book of the First Volume of Mr. Varillas's History of Heresies; being a Reply to his Answer. By G. Burnet, D.D.' The advertisement to this pamphlet is as follows:—

> I do not think it necessary to write anything in the way of preface to so short a book; but since there appeared a long preface before the French translation of my Reflections, to which Mr. Varillas has made some sort of answer, the same worthy person, having given himself the trouble to translate likewise my Reply, thought it necessary to say somewhat in defence of his former preface, I have translated that into English, since it gives a further discovery of Mr. Varillas's sincerity.

Meanwhile Varillas had published the third and fourth volumes of his work at Paris, 1687, and an

edition came out very soon afterwards at Amsterdam, the remaining two volumes not having been published till two years later ; and this was immediately followed by 'A Continuation of Reflections on Mr. Varillas's History of Heresies, particularly on that which relates to English affairs in his third and fourth tomes. By G. Burnet, D.D.' These two little volumes appeared about the same time at Amsterdam, 1687, and each of them the author speaks of as being the work of one week. Of the latter it is only necessary to observe that the author apologizes for not giving references to both the editions on the ground that the paper was written before the Amsterdam edition appeared, the reason of his haste being that he was resolved to attack Varillas in an edition for which he himself was answerable, and as expeditiously as possible to prevent the mischief his book might do. This pamphlet goes over the two volumes *seriatim*, in the same way that the ninth book of the previous volumes had been handled. It convicts Varillas of a great number of ridiculous mistakes, and need not further be mentioned here except for the fact of the author's having inserted in it the two papers afterwards published by him in his History, of King Edward's Device for the Succession, and the Order of the Privy Council upon it.

From the other pamphlet, which appeared about the same time from the same press at Amsterdam, we learn what is stated in the advertisement above quoted, that both the Reflections and the Defence had been translated into French and published, with a preface to the former, which the author thought it worth while to translate into English and prefix to his Defence. This preface need not be further

noticed here, as it does not relate to the publication of Burnet's History, but only to the inconsistencies between Varillas's late publication and a previous work, the History of Wickliffianism, the responsibility for which M. Varillas had disowned.

The editor regrets to say he has been unable to procure sight of a copy of the French translations of these two little books, or of Varillas's reply to the first of them. But from Burnet's answer it sufficiently clearly appears that Varillas himself reprinted in French the Reflections to which he was replying, and that the Reply extended to between four and five hundred pages. The Reply and the Defence consist in great measure of mutual recriminations; and though Varillas is considerably exposed by his antagonist, he nevertheless shews up several faults of carelessness in the History of the Reformation, as well as in the Reflections. As far as personal remarks are concerned, both parties professedly decline to enter upon them; but Varillas had observed that if he had intended to write Burnet's Life up to the present time, when he was by his own fault a citizen of Holland, he could have made the most agreeable book that had been printed for a long while; and Burnet says that he had declined sending to Paris for an account of Varillas's life, and that he refused to hearken to some particulars that were to his prejudice, which had been offered to him. The two allusions are to M. Varillas's dismissal from his post in the Royal Library, and to the prosecution against Burnet for high treason, which induced him to become naturalized in the States. As regards the matters of history in dispute, Varillas alleged that he had taken much from Florimond de Rémond; and Burnet replies by shewing that this author is

no good authority as to English affairs, with which he had no opportunity of making himself acquainted. From a passage at p. 121 it appears that the Continuation of the Reflections was written before the Defence.

At p. 135 of the Reply he again repeats that he has seen the original record of the trial, 'and marked the place where anybody else may see for it.' At p. 137 the author observes that he had bestowed a week on each of these two little works, and that 'one proof will quickly appear whether the world is so satisfied with his Answer, as upon that to return to any tolerable thoughts of his History,' for that he had been informed that a gentleman who had spent three months in translating Varillas's History had discontinued his work upon the appearance of the Reflections, finding the credit of his author was gone, adding that if that credit should be recovered by the Answer, he will perhaps go on with his translation. The author alluded to was Dryden, who had lately avowed himself a convert to the Roman communion, and who does not appear to have proceeded further with his work. The author says, 'He has lately wreaked his malice on me for spoiling his three months' labour; but in it he has done me all the honour that any man can secure from him, which is to be railed at by him.'

The author's own account of his naturalization in the States was given in his first letter to the earl of Middleton, dated from the Hague, May 10, 1687. It is as follows:—'I went out of England by his Majesty's approbation, and I have stayed out of it because his Majesty expressed his dislike of my returning to it. I am now upon the point of marrying in this country, and am naturalized by the States

of Holland.' After the citation was issued, he protested that his not going to Scotland, according to the terms of this citation, did not flow from any sense of guilt or fear, but merely from those engagements he was under in Holland.

The author, though he distinctly avowed that he should read no more of M. Varillas's works, nor write anything more about him, published in the following year another set of 'Reflections upon M. Varillas his History of Heresy, Book I, Tome I, as far as relates to English matters, more especially those of Wickliff.' This little volume of seventy-two pages appeared in 1688, without any name either of author or printer, and may not improbably have been printed in England. The work has always been classed with Burnet's productions, and there can be little doubt that it was by him, as the advertisement states that the writer had used the Amsterdam edition of Varillas, which was the only one Burnet had been able to procure when he wrote his first series of Reflections; and the style and method of the pamphlet sufficiently bespeak the author. The book begins with noticing how M. Varillas's friends had been obliged to give him up, noticing that Mr. Hosier declared that he had discovered above four thousand errors in his works, and that Father Bonhour even had made it his business to expose him, adding that 'even his old friend Mr. Dr[yden] seems to have forsaken him, and gone over to his adversary Bonhour, from whose original he is now translating the Life of St. Xavier.' After this the book goes on to confute the statements of Varillas *seriatim*, in the same way as the author had done in his previous Reflections, &c. But the author pretends to write in a different character, as, for instance, when at p. 9 he says, 'We intreat with

Dr. B[urnet] that if ever Mr. Varillas shall have any further use of the Peter pence, he would ascribe their original to king Ina,' &c. There are no allusions to the History of the Reformation, so that it is needless to give any further account of this work, which concluded the controversy between Burnet and Varillas. The following paragraph at p. 67 plainly shews Burnet to have been the writer: 'Hence it might be that Monsieur Varillas in his Revolutions takes all the liberties of a poet, and Mr. Dr[yden] in his Conference between the Hind and Panther, though in verse, has aimed at all the plainness and gravity of an historian.' If the work was printed in London, the author's reputation at that date was a sufficient reason for the printer concealing his name.

The next work that came out bearing on the subject of this History was the letter written by Sir William Coventry to Burnet, containing several documents relating to cardinal Pole's mission as papal legate. It was printed in 1685, and the documents printed with it, together with some others extracted from a register of Pole's which is unfortunately lost, were reprinted in Burnet's Third Part in 1715.

The next attack made on the History was in Parker's Reasons for abrogating the Test imposed on all Members of Parliament, in which he takes occasion to allude to the manuscript which Lowth had accused Burnet of unfaithfully transcribing, which he calls 'an unknown MS,' and 'a famous invisible MS.' Burnet's answer, which is entitled 'An Inquiry into the Reasons,' &c., p. 210, contains the following passage:—

He had set on one of his poor underworkmen some years ago to deny the MS. which Dr. Stillingfleet had in his keeping for above twenty years, and which Dr. Burnet had in his

hands for many months, and which they shewed to as many as desired to see it, but that had turned so much to his shame that first vented the calumny, that it seems he summoned Sa. Oxon to appear his second in the slander, and he whose brow is of so peculiar a composition will needs bring it here, though ever so impertinently. But I forgave the hatred that he bears both to that MS. and to those doctors, since nothing could be less to *the satisfaction of those for whom he published his book*, than to see the mature and regular methods in which the Reformation was advanced, for the bishops and divines were appointed to examine all points with much care, and to bring every man his opinion in writing; all which were compared very faithfully, and upon these the decisions were made.

Soon afterwards he adds :—

The History of the Reformation sells still so well that I do not believe Mr. Chiswell, the printer of it, has made any present to this Reasoner to raise its price; for to attack it with so much malice, and yet not to offer one reason to lessen its credit, is as effectual a recommendation as this author can give it.

There was one other point for which the author of this pamphlet censured Burnet, viz. for saying 'he had often heard it said that the articles of our church were framed by Cranmer and Ridley, as if it were the meanest trade of an historian to stoop to hearsays.' The answer is, that 'in this Dr. Burnet maintains the character of a sincere historian, to say nothing that was not well grounded; and since it has often been said by many writers, that these two bishops prepared our articles, he, finding no particular evidence of that, delivers it with its own doubtfulness.' (p. 212.)

In the second part of this Inquiry the author alludes again to his History of the Reformation in a

passage on the doctrine of the real presence, which as it explains the view which he promulgates in his second volume in opposition to Parker's view, shall be given here. His representation of Parker's view is as follows :—

In a word, 'He would persuade the world that transubstantiation is but a nicety of the schools, calculated to the Aristotelian philosophy, and not defined positively in the church of Rome; but that the corporal and real presence of the substance of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament was the doctrine of the universal church in the primitive times; and that it is at this day the generally received doctrine by all the different parties in Europe, not only the Roman Catholics and Lutherans, but both by the churches of Switzerland and France, and more particularly by the church of England; so that since all that the church of Rome means by transubstantiation is the real presence; and since the real presence is so universally received, it is a heinous thing to renounce transubstantiation; so that it is in effect the renouncing the real presence.'

This is the whole strength of his argument, which he fortifies by many citations, to prove that both the ancient fathers and the modern reformers believed the real presence; and that the church of Rome believes no more. But to all this I shall offer a few exceptions.

I. If transubstantiation is only a philosophical nicety concerning the manner of the presence, where is the hurt of renouncing it? and why are the Roman Catholics at so much pains to have the test repealed? for it contains nothing against the real presence: indeed, if this argument has any force, it should rather lead the Roman Catholics to take the test, since according to the bishop they do not renounce it in any article of faith, but only a bold curiosity of the schoolmen. Yet after all it seems they know that this is contrary to their doctrine, otherwise they would not venture so much upon a point of an old and decried philosophy.

II. In order to the stating this matter aright, it is necessary to give the true notion of the real presence, as it is acknow-

ledged by the reformed. We all know in what sense the church of Rome understands it, that in the sacrament there is no real bread and wine, but that under the appearance of them we have the true substance of Christ's glorified body. On the other hand, the reformed, when they found the world generally fond of this phrase, they by the same spirit of compliance which our Saviour and his apostles had for the Jews, and that the primitive church had (perhaps to excess) for the heathens, retained the phrase of real presence: but as they gave it such a sense as did fully demonstrate, that though they retained a term that had for it a long prescription, yet they quite changed its meaning; for they always shewed that the body and blood of Christ, which they believed present, was his body broken and his blood shed; that is to say, his body, not in its glorified state, but as it was crucified. So that the presence belonging to Christ's dead body, which is not now actually in being, it is only his death that is to be conceived to be presented to us; and this being the sense that they always give of the real presence, the reality falls only on that conveyance that is made to us in the sacrament, by a federal rite of Christ's death as our sacrifice. The learned answerer to the Oxford Discourses has so fully demonstrated this from the copious explanations which all the reformed give of that phrase, that one would think it were not possible either to mistake or cavil in so clear a point. The papists had generally objected to the reformers, that they made the sacrament no more than a bare commemoratory feast; and some few had carried their aversion to that gross presence which the church of Rome had set up, to another extreme, to which the people by a principle of libertinism might have been too easily carried, if the true dignity of the sacrament had not been maintained by expressions of great majesty; so finding that the world was possessed of the phrase of the real presence, they thought fit to preserve it, but with an explanation that was liable to no ambiguity. Yet it seems our reformers in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign had found that the phrase had more power to carry men to superstition, than the explanations given to it had to retire them from it, and therefore the Convocation ordered it to be

laid aside, though that order was suppressed out of prudence; and the phrase has been ever since in use among us, of which Dr. Burnet has given us a copious account, Hist. Reform. vol. ii. book iii.

The editor proceeds now to give an account of the 'Reflections on the relation of the English Reformation lately printed at Oxford. Part I. and Part II. By G. B., D D., Amst. 1688.' Though in this work the author makes frequent allusion to his own History,' the pamphlet was not written in defence of it, but as an attack on Obadiah Walker's work. The following extracts bear upon our subject :—

It seemed strange to me at first view to see so large a book writ and printed eight years after that Dr. Burnet's History of the Reformation had appeared, without its taking the least notice of that work, which hath been so well received, so much read, and which seems to be so well confirmed by the proofs that accompany it, that few books of history have gained a more general reputation than it hath done; and as none of the Roman communion have been able hitherto to say anything for the disparagement of that work except Mr. Varillas; so he hath been so severely exposed by the doctor that this attempt hath raised its credit, instead of lessening it. . . . For if the doctor hath deceived the world by a false representation of matter, yet it must be confessed that he hath done it with so good a grace and with such appearances of sincerity and of proving what he relates, and that both our countrymen and foreigners have read that work so much, (as appears by the several impressions at home, and the several translations that have been printed beyond sea,) that it was too great an omission in the author of this recital, if he be still alive, that he hath never mentioned that history, nor said anything to ruin the reputation it hath gained.

There are two editions of this work of the same date, apparently containing precisely the same matter, but one in larger type than the other. One extends

to sixty-four pages, and has the author's initials on the title-page. The other contains ninety-six pages, and has no name of author. It seems probable that Burnet printed it at first without his initials, with the intention of concealing the authorship, as throughout he speaks of Dr. Burnet in the third person; and thus the issue of the pamphlet with the initials will be a second edition. The work attacked was entitled 'Church Government, Part V. A relation of the English Reformation and the lawfulness thereof, examined by the *theses* delivered in the four former parts. Oxford, 4to. 1687.' It was one of several works that came out about this time from the press of Obadiah Walker, master of University college, most of which were written by Abraham Woodhead, who had been fellow of that college, and tutor to Obadiah Walker. It would perhaps be impossible now to adjust the share which these two celebrated converts to Rome took in these publications. Woodhead had died nine years before the publication of this volume, yet Burnet observes of it that it appeared to have been part of a great work, and to have been written many years ago, as appears by a passage, p. 82 *ad fin.*, which seems to have been written in the interval between his late majesty's being re-established in his throne and the restoration of bishops. Burnet further states that it was believed that the author and publisher were the same person, who ought therefore to have reviewed the work 'or at least to have added some appendix relating to that more copious and authentical account which Dr. Burnet hath given us of our Reformation.' He further expresses his opinion that Obadiah Walker could not have been the author, on

the ground that no conscientious person could have written such a book in 1660 against the Reformation, and then continued in communion with the church of England for twenty-five years afterwards. This was meant for a slap at Walker under cover of attributing the work to Woodhead, who was perhaps the real author; but in the opening of the Reflections Burnet treats it as if it were Walker's, calling him 'the eminent convert of Oxford,' and alluding to a previous publication of his concerning the presence in the sacrament, and the adoration of it, which had previously come out from the same press, but which is now generally attributed also to Woodhead. The author did not scruple to say, in his History of his Own Times, that 'Walker the head of University college, and five or six more at Oxford, declared themselves to be of that religion, but with this brand of infamy, that they had continued for several years complying with the doctrine and worship of the Church of England after they were reconciled to the church of Rome.' (i. 674.)

The first twenty-four pages of the earlier edition of this pamphlet seem a complete treatise, ending with the word *Finis*. So probably the remainder was an afterthought, written after the first part was printed. The paging of the two parts is continuous, but the second begins with a new title-page, 'Reflections on the Oxford Theses relating to the English Reformation. Part II. Amsterdam: printed for P. Bleau, 1688.' The former part contains nothing that alludes to the History, but consists of an examination of the general grounds on which the English Reformation was attacked. The latter, which enters upon matters of fact, bears more immediately upon the subject of this preface; and as it consists mainly of a defence

of the History of the Reformation, a slight account of it will not be out of place here.

The author of the work attacked had insinuated that Anne Boleyn's marriage was null on the ground of the queen's confession to archbishop Cranmer of an impediment, which the author infers was the criminal connection of the king with Mary the elder sister of Anne; in evidence of which the clause of the dispensation is quoted which allows the king to marry within the first degree of affinity, '*ex quocunque licito seu illicito coitu proveniente.*' And the answer given to this is, that there was no such dispensation either asked or granted, and that this pretended dispensation was afterwards forged by queen Elizabeth's enemies to defame her, and that the bull of dispensation which the king asked for is set down by Dr. Burnet among his Records, and that there is no such clause in it. The bull however had been printed both in Anti-Sanderus, and in Herbert's History, where Herbert observes that he had met in our Archives some despatches that make it probable. Copies of it exist among the Harleian MSS. 4994, fol. 155, and in the Cotton Collection, Titus C. X, fol. 73. The insinuation is further answered by observing that the act of parliament only notices the queen's confession, and not the king's knowledge of the reasons that rendered the marriage null and void.

Another argument for the nullity of the marriage with Anne Boleyn had been recently urged by another writer, in 'a sheet that was well and decently writ,' viz. Anne Boleyn's confession of a precontract. A remarkably illogical defence of queen Elizabeth's legitimacy occupies the first four pages of these Reflections, the most remarkable passage of which,

considering the date at which it was penned (1688), is the following: 'And it must be acknowledged that an anxious weighing of titles is not so necessary after one is in a legal and peaceable possession, acknowledged by all parties within the kingdom as well as by all princes without it.'

Besides this point there are two other references to Burnet's History in this short pamphlet. One of these is on the subject of the statute of præmunire made by Richard II, which the author had explained as referring only to some special matters of a temporal kind. To this the author replies by a reference to the Records, XXXVI, XXXVII, XXXVIII, of Book II. of Dr. Burnet's First Part of his History, adding that though from these it is clear that the pope spoke *ex cathedrâ*, threatening the sentence of excommunication if the statute was not repealed; yet it never was repealed, and the parliament of Henry VIII was as competent to examine upon the decisions of the church as that of Richard II and Henry VI.

The other reference is to a passage where the writer had cited 'The Discourse of Communion in one Kind, which by all appearance is that lately writ by the bishop of Meaux.' And here Burnet finds it convenient to recur to the supposition that the author was Obadiah Walker, at whom he aims the following passage:—

> This shews that the author and the publisher is the same person, though others pretend that the author is dead many years ago. But it seems the publisher thought fit at least to add some new touches, and since he did that he might have thought it worth the while to have examined at least the Records published by Dr. Burnet. And his History itself might have been considered as well as Mr. Fuller's and Dr.

Heylin's. But since it seems our author thought the Discourse of the Communion in one Kind fit to be recommended by him, I will take the liberty to recommend the Answer to it in French by Monsieur Larrogue, and that lately writ in English, in which the disingenuity of the Discourse mentioned by our author is laid open beyond all possibility of replying. (p. 51.)

One other passage shall be quoted in which Burnet alludes to himself in the third person :—

Our author it seems thinks he hath a privilege to reproach our church in spite of the clearest discoveries that can be made; so though that worthy and learned person that answered his two discourses concerning the real presence and the adoration of the sacrament, had from the light given in Dr. Burnet's History answered the objection he had made from the alteration in the article of the sacrament concerning the presence, a great deal of the explanation that was made in Edward VI's time being left out under queen Elizabeth. Yet it is clear by the original subscription which I myself viewed in Bennet College library, that all the clergy were of the same mind with those of king Edward's time, only upon a prudential consideration it was not thought necessary to publish it; so that it was not cast out, but suppressed. Common decency should have obliged our author not to have mentioned this any more, or to have answered that which had been said upon it. But it seems with the religion he has got he hath received a most indelible degree of impudence.

At the end of the book he again attacks the author on the ground of his change of religion. And whereas in the earlier part this was made a ground for ascribing the authorship to another, it is here used as a reason for inserting the prayer that God might touch his heart, and give him a repentance proportioned to the heinousness of his sin, 'since he had certainly brought a greater reproach on that church to which he hath gone over, than all the services he could ever render them in his useless and confounded writings would

ever be able to wipe off. But to whomsoever he hath been a reproach, our church hath no share in it, since of him and of such as he is we must say, They went out from us, but they were not of us: for if they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us; but they went out that it might be made manifest that they were not all of us.'

It should be noticed that this pamphlet, i. e. the edition of it which extends to ninety-six pages, was issued in the following year with a new title-page, on which the author's name appears as follows: 'By Gilbert Burnet, D. D. Chaplain to his highness the Prince of Orange. London: printed for Ric. Chiswell, 1689.' It is the nineteenth tract in the Second Collection of Several Tracts and Discourses written in the years 1686, 1687, 1688, 1689, by Gilbert Burnet, D. D. (consecrated bishop of Sarum, Easter Day, 1689.) So that it must have been issued in this form some time before Ash Wednesday, February 13, 1689, on which day the prince of Orange was proclaimed king.

The next important publication bearing on the subject is that of Le Grand's three duodecimo volumes at Paris 1688. The first of these three volumes perhaps came out before the other two. At least Burnet had only seen the first volume when he wrote his letter to M. Thevenot from the Hague May 10, 1688. Le Grand's work is referred to under so many different titles, that it seems well to describe it. The first two volumes have the same title, which runs thus: 'Histoire du Divorce de Henry VIII et de Catharine d'Aragon, avec la defense de Sanderus, la refutation des deux premiers livres de l'histoire de la reformation de Burnet, et les preuves.' The running title of the first volume is,

'L'Histoire du Divorce de Henry VIII.' as far as p. 288, when it is changed for 'Lettre du Cardinal Polus.' The running title of the second volume is 'Defense de Sanderus' down to p. 256, when another half title is given, 'Refutation de l'Histoire de la Reformation d'Angleterre,' and thenceforward its running title is the same. The title-page of the third volume is 'Preuves de l'Histoire, &c. tom. iii.' The work was dedicated to M. Thevenot, on the ground that he was the fittest person to present it to, as he knew better than anybody else what had passed between Mr. Burnet and himself, and moreover had in his custody those documents which authenticate the book, and from which he had given the author permission to make extracts. This dedication is signed 'Joachim Le Grand.' At the commencement the author speaks of his conference in the king's library with Burnet nearly three years before, saying that never did a bad cause find a better advocate; but adds that there were two things which encouraged him to go on with his task: first, the fact that Burnet knew little of the affairs of Europe; and secondly, that Burnet did not appear to have studied the earlier history of England, or he never would have allowed so many of Varillas's assertions to pass unnoticed. It was very probably this remark that provoked from Burnet the pamphlet which he published this year at Amsterdam, commenting upon the part of Varillas's history which touched upon the times of Wicliffe; for he had previously asserted that he should take no further notice of Varillas.

He refers to the 'Réponse de Varillas a la critique de Mr. Burnet,' and then gives a slight account of the conference which took place in the presence of M. Thevenot and M. Auzout, saying that they had

discussed the authority of Fox and Parker, and that he had attacked the value of Hall's testimony; and then refers to their dispute about the Sorbonne. He continues that Burnet seeming to want originals, he had offered him his to correct his work by. He then proceeds to give the sources of his history, which as he says consist of a succession of letters; and afterwards criticizes works printed on the Protestant side of the question.

As soon as Burnet had seen the first of these three volumes, he wrote a letter to M. Thevenot, which is dated at the Hague May 10, 1688. This letter was not however printed in English for some months, neither did the English version appear in Holland at all. The first edition of it bears date London 1689, but probably came out very early in the year, if not at the close of 1688, for the author is designated on the title-page only as Gilbert Burnet, D. D. There is a French translation in a very diminutive form, a copy of which exists in the British Museum; and this is dated 'A la Haye, le 30 de Juin.' It consists of twenty-seven pages, and is signed at the end by the author's name at full length. This letter was reprinted by Le Grand at Paris during the same year with the title 'Lettre de Mr. Burnet a M. Thevenot, contenant une courte critique de l'histoire du divorce de Henri VIII. écrite par M. Le Grand. Nouvelle edition augmentée d'un avertissement et des Remarques de M. L. G. qui servent de Réponse à cette Lettre. A Paris 1688.' This pamphlet begins with a letter to Thevenot signed L. G., and has an advertisement about printing the letter of Burnet with the Remarks. The letter here also is signed June 30. It consists of a translation of the eighteen pages of the quarto English edition into French, extending

with the remarks to eighty-four pages. There are thirty more pages occupied with other remarks, and at the end the 'Permis' is dated August 12, 1688.

The English edition of this letter did not come out till after September 10, 1688, for annexed to it is 'A Censure of Mr. de Meaux's History of the Variations of the Protestant Churches, together with some further reflections on M. Le Grand.' And this last, which also appears in the form of a letter addressed to an unknown correspondent, is dated at the Hague, September 10, 1688.

It is remarkable that in the same year there were published in London, in two volumes 12mo, 'Dr. G. Burnet's Tracts, containing Letters on Switzerland, with a London title, 1689, with an Appendix of Papers.' At p. 333 is the 'History of the Divorce of Henry VIII, &c., with the Defence of Sanders. Refutation of two first books of Reformation by Burnet. By Joachim Le Grand. With Dr. Burnet's Answer and Vindication of himself,' beginning, 'We have not as yet seen any more than the first part of this work, which was published the 5th of this month.' The writer affects to consider Le Grand's work as being an abridgment of Burnet's History, though the author promises to refute it in the two succeeding volumes. It describes the conference in the king's library, &c.; and at p 340 begins the letter to M. Thevenot, which is retranslated from the French translation, and dated Hague, June 20.

The description of this letter is as follows:— It is signed at the end 'G. Burnet,' and dated 'At the Hague the 10th of September 1688.' The part of it which relates to Le Grand's History occupies the first eighteen pages, and is signed and dated like the other, May 10, 1688. It commences with an

account substantially the same as that given in the Introduction to Part III. p. iii, and proceeds to say, that instead of being a defence of Sanders and a refutation of Burnet, M. Le Grand had for the most part represented matters as Burnet himself had done, and contradicted Sanders. The author then proceeds with an examination of six errors committed by Le Grand. It is unnecessary to give any account of this examination here, for it throws no light upon the literary history of the publication, except in one point, where the author defends himself for the character he had given of Campeggio by referring to William Thomas as an authority. This shews that he was entirely aware of the falseness of the charge, which he made no attempt to contradict in his third volume, or in the edition of the first two volumes published in 1715.

He speaks of having given some account of the conversation that passed between himself and M. Le Grand at the house of M. Thevenot and in the presence of M. Auzout, in his remarks on Varillas, in which he had treated Le Grand with all respect.

The remainder of the volume is taken up with a censure of Bossuet's Variations; but at p. 45 of this latter part he recurs to M. Le Grand, and gives some account of Le Grand's book, the substance of which appears in the Introduction, pp. iv and v. The only important point to be noticed here is the defence of Sanders, on the ground that he was only answerable for the first edition; to which it is replied, that 'there is reason to believe that the first impression was from an imperfect copy, and that soon after a more complete one appeared: and all the editions of that book since that time, as well as the

translations of it, and in particular the late one by Maucroix, which gave the first occasion to my writing, having been made according to that second edition, I had reason to follow it.'

At the end is a postscript in italics, for which in the Introduction, p. iv, the author expresses his sorrow, and asks pardon. It is as follows:—

I have seen M. Le Grand's Annotations upon my letter to Mr. Thevenot. I perceive clearly by it that this hot summer and his extraordinary application have so dried his brain, and given him such an overflowing of the gall, that all the answer I can bestow on him is to wish his friends to look to him, and keep him from running about the streets, for he is in a fair way to that. They will do well to bleed him over and over again, to give him some inward refrigeratives, and now and then a few grains of laudanum, and to take a special care of him at new and full moons. Pen, ink, and paper must be kept from him as poison; for these things set his head so a-going, that his fits redouble upon him at every time that he gets them in his hands. But above all things, care must be taken not to name me nor the Bibliothèque Universel to him, for that will certainly bring on him a most violent paroxysm; and he being young, and so mightily in love with himself, good air and good keeping may at last bring him out of this raving distemper. So, to be sure, I will have no more to do with a man that writes like a lunatic; yet as soon as some materials, which I expect shortly from England, are brought me, I will answer everything that he has said that looks like sense, and will not do so as not a few of that nation have done of late, who write on without even justifying themselves, or confessing the errors into which they have fallen; for I will justify myself to a tittle, or acknowledge my mistakes as soon as I find that I have made any.

From the 18th to the 44th page of this volume is occupied with the attack on Bossuet's celebrated work on the Variations of the Protestant Churches. During the whole of the reign of James II. the

press had been teeming with publications on the disputed points of controversy between the Roman and the Anglican churches; and several of these publications, some written by professed Roman Catholics, others by members of the church of England having more or less of sympathy with Rome, had been specially directed to the point of representing fairly what were the real doctrines of the church of Rome as against the supposed misrepresentations of Protestants. Amongst these latter may be reckoned Bossuet's work, which was translated into English, and published in London, 4to, 1685, entitled 'The Exposition of the Doctrine of the Catholick Church.' This was followed by his better known work on the Variations, which provoked considerable notice in England. The answer given by Burnet scarcely professed to be more than a kind of *tu quoque*, alleging the same kind of faults in Rome as the bishop of Meaux had charged upon the English Reformation. He abstains from going farther into the controversy, on the ground that it was likely to be handled by so able a pen, that he will not anticipate, as one had resolved to undertake it who he knew would manage it with much force as well as with great truth; i. e. Wake, who was afterwards dean of Exeter and archbishop of Canterbury.

The last paragraph of the Censure perhaps deserves quoting, for the allusion to the crisis impending at the moment when it was written. It is at p. 57 :—

> I will not carry this censure further at present, for I have not near me the books and other documents that are necessary for a fuller answer; and those in England to whom I sent for the resolution of some things, have so much work given them at present by those whose favour Mr. Le Grand is courting, that it is not to be wondered at if they have not leisure to send

me the materials which I wanted. They are in a storm which all the world knows; though they are not yet reduced to that which the reverend father Petre has threatened them with, in that modest and savoury expression of his, that *the church of England shall be made to eat its own dung*. This is indeed a true essay of the charity of the order, and it is that which we have reason to expect from it.

And here the controversy as to the merits of the History of the Reformation was allowed to drop for four years. It was not till the spring of 1693 that Henry Wharton came out with the most damaging attack that has ever been made upon this celebrated History. He had read the works of Varillas and Le Grand when they first appeared; but as he had not intended at the time of reading them to write any animadversions on Burnet, he had not taken particular notice of what they had said, but professes to draw his accusations mostly from books and records which they had never seen. Wharton certainly cannot be accused of having the same object in view as Varillas and Le Grand, viz. the vilifying the honour and justice of the Reformation; but he cannot be as successfully defended from the charge of taking revenge on an author with whom he had had a quarrel.

It appears from his own diary that he took up the work on October 3, 1692, for the express purpose of exposing its errors and defects; that ten days afterwards he put pen to paper, and had finished his work by the 12th of November. The private diary reveals what the preface to the volume does not mention—that the love of truth was not the sole motive of the publication. The following is the extract which relates to the subject:—

Die 3 Octobris Historiam Reformationis Anglicanæ a

Burneto scriptam evolvere cœpi, eo animo ut defectus et errores ejus notarem, ac demum evulgarem. Quod facere statui tum ut nimiam ejus qua in damnum Ecclesiæ abusus est famam convellerem; tum ut historiæ nostræ ecclesiasticæ errores receptos posteris indicarem; tum ut animo meo multis ab eo injuriis irritato nonnihil indulgerem.

Die 13 Octobris, observationes meas scripto consignare incepi. Die 12 Novembris, opus inceptum feliciter absolvi, et Johanni Conold (qui liberos Antonii Aucheri Baronetti literis instruebat) describendum tradidi.

Why the author, having made so much haste to write his work, so long delayed committing it to the press, does not appear; but from the same diary we learn that it was consigned to the care of Thomas Bennet on December 13, to be printed under the fictitious name of Anthony Harmer, and that the copies were ready for sale on February 6.

The history of the quarrel, which Burnet himself has omitted to mention in his Own Times, may be gathered from some passages in Wharton's diary. Bishop Lloyd of St. Asaph, whose name appears so frequently in connection with this history, first as the dean of Bangor, and in the last instance, to which we shall presently refer, as bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, had of his own accord offered Wharton to procure that he should be made one of the king's chaplains. The queen, to whom the arrangement of church appointments was supposed to be delegated, had made a rule that no one should be made king's chaplain till she had heard him preach. This condition Wharton refused, and bishop Lloyd persuaded the queen to forego the condition; and accordingly Wharton was to be admitted as chaplain April 26, 1691. The bishop of Salisbury, according to Wharton's own account, because of his hostility to archbishop Sancroft and all connected with him, counter-

persuaded the queen that Wharton was an enemy to her, and had spoken against her right to the throne. Upon this the queen signified to bishop Lloyd that she had heard something to the prejudice of Wharton, and that therefore she desired his admission as king's chaplain should be delayed. Lloyd ventured to remonstrate with the queen; the queen received the remonstrance graciously, but without replying. Upon this Lloyd went to Burnet, and in the presence of Tillotson and other distinguished persons accused him of falsehood and calumniation in the matter. Some time after this, but it does not appear exactly how long, Burnet began to be ashamed of what he had said, and sent various friendly proposals to Wharton through Richard Chiswell, the bookseller who published most of Burnet's works; and on the 1st of June he was most courteously received by the bishop, who promised that he would do all he could for his promotion; and two days afterwards, meeting him at the house of bishop Lloyd, assured him that he had removed from the queen's mind every suspicion, and that the queen had given him to understand that he should shortly have some distinguished piece of preferment in the church. About a fortnight afterwards Lloyd signified to Wharton that the queen was willing that he should be presented to her, but Wharton was unwilling to go through the ceremony of 'kissing hands' while his patron Sancroft was still at Lambeth. Lloyd managed the matter for him, and the queen was content to allow him to wait till Sancroft should quit the palace. He was finally presented on the 26th of June; immediately upon which Burnet told him that he had been making interest for him both with the queen and the

archbishop of Canterbury. Stillingfleet bishop of Worcester had also recommended him to the queen's notice. On the following 2nd of October, Stillingfleet, whose friendship Wharton seems to have highly valued, warned him of Burnet's secret insinuations against him, alleging that he suspected Burnet of prejudicing Tillotson against him. Meanwhile Wharton's 'Defence of Pluralities' came out, and this seems to have aggravated Burnet considerably. Burnet endeavoured through Chiswell the bookseller to find out whether Wharton had written the book, and afterwards had sounded Wharton himself on the subject, at the time of a visit which he paid him at Salisbury, on occasion of his travelling to Exeter with his friend Dr. Hooper, the dean of Canterbury; and had afterwards told him, through Chiswell the bookseller, that he would not allow him to inspect the registers of Salisbury, and that he renounced him altogether, since he had refused to contradict the report of his being the author of the Apology for Pluralities. Wharton had simply pretended ignorance of the subject when questioned by Burnet. The work had really been written by him, having been commenced jointly by him and Hooper, who upon his being made dean of Canterbury (July 8, 1691,) had left it to Wharton to complete, and had only revised it before it went to the press. This is Wharton's own account of the matter, and is all that can now be ascertained on the subject.

There is one other passage in the diary that bears upon the subject. It is under March 26, 1693, in which Wharton says he had visited Lloyd, the bishop of Lichfield, who, speaking of the Specimen, told him he had a fair right to do what he had done in

publishing it, for that the bishop of Salisbury had treated him so badly that he had merited all he had said and more.

This celebrated attack has almost earned the right to appear entire in footnotes to a new edition of Burnet's History. In the present edition considerable extracts have been made from it; mere captious remarks having been omitted, as well as many other notices, which perhaps some readers might wish to see incorporated with it. It was much too important an onslaught to be allowed to remain unanswered. On its appearance in London February 6, 1693, though the author had taken every precaution to conceal his name, the very bookseller who published it being not the person to whom the manuscript had been consigned,—it was universally attributed to the right author. Wharton describes the effect of its appearance as driving Burnet almost to madness, and says that Burnet accidentally meeting his father, told him to inform Wharton that he meant to answer it, but that afterwards he had confessed that he did not see any way of doing so, and should decline it, even if the promised continuation of the Specimen of Errors should appear. Still, that something might be done, he accused him to the queen of damaging the cause of the Reformation, and in the following month published a letter to the bishop of Lichfield, attempting to defend himself and attack his adversary.

These remarks from Wharton's Diary are necessary to the understanding of the singular tone of the letter to Lloyd which came out with the imprimatur of the Archbishop of Canterbury, March 6, 1693. It bore the title, 'A letter writ by the lord bishop of Salisbury to the lord bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, concerning a book lately published, called A

Specimen of some errors and defects in the History of the Reformation of the Church of England, by Anthony Harmer.' One object of the publication appears to have been to divide the blame of the inaccuracies with bishop Lloyd, as being the person who had pressed the author to undertake the work, and had contributed all his vast collection of materials for the purpose. The author in the letter gives an account how Lloyd had superintended and revised the whole work, and Burnet gently reminds the bishop of Lichfield that he still had in his possession the copy which the latter had prepared and corrected. After expressing his opinion that Wharton had not done this to ingratiate himself with the Roman party, he in the next page pretends that he does not know who the writer is, being 'assured that the name in the title-page of Anthony Harmer is a feigned one;' and again in the next page speaks of him as one whom he never injured, and whom, if he guessed right, he had endeavoured to serve. There is a great inconsistency in the pamphlet, as, in spite of the pretence of ignoring the writer, much of the point of it consists in innuendos against him and his works. Thus, in abstaining from any charge of leaning to popery, the author gives a sly hit at Wharton's previously published tract on the Celibacy of the Clergy, as being enough to cover him from all such suspicion: whilst in speaking of the morals and learning of the monks, Burnet definitely says, 'His studies have been much that way, and it is natural for men to value that much, on which they have bestowed much of their time; and perhaps he has been infected by the rudeness and maledicence that runs through their writings, to imitate so bad an example.'

The author further professes, that nothing that he had seen relating to his History had pleased him so much as this Specimen, because the writer was evidently a competent person, and had the strongest inclination to disparage the work, and yet had not been able to detect any material fault relating to any of the transactions of the Reformation.

In the last half of the pamphlet he proceeds to examine the four several heads of censure, after stating that Lloyd as well as his other reverend brethren with whom he had consulted had advised that it was not worth his while to reply, and that accordingly, though he had once intended to do so, he had given up the intention. The four heads were: 1. Ignorance of English history; 2. Erroneous dates; 3. Conjectures; 4. Defects. To the first he replies partly by confessing ignorance of such affairs as well as distaste for them; such matters, and the glory of them, he is content to leave to those who write volumes of Anglia Sacra; and partly by alleging that in all such things he had trusted to his correspondent and his most learned brother Stillingfleet bishop of Worcester, on both of whom he had depended for the correctness of all such matters, in which both of them had the reputation of being most exact; so that he concludes either his critic was mistaken in some of his remarks, or else that his correspondent did not think such minute accuracy was necessary in making a short abstract of history.

For the question of dates the author disclaims any knowledge of any but such as occur in his first edition, the only one for which he considers himself answerable. Some of these he admits may be wrong, others were certainly right, because he took them

from Lloyd's own notes, unless indeed the authors from whom Lloyd took them were wrong. Of these dates Wharton had observed, that as far as he had examined them they were nearly as often wrong as right. And the accusation scarcely exaggerates the truth, but the author with all his carelessness had one better ground of defence than he himself knew of. The dates are more often mistaken in the Arabic figures 1 and 2 than in any others, and upon inspecting the author's handwriting it will be seen that it is very difficult to distinguish these two figures as he wrote them. The other part of the defence, that the dates in Records are frequently wrong, is utterly untenable. It is to be regretted, for the author's credit, that his promise that those dates, the errors of which should be proved to be well grounded, should be corrected if the History should be reprinted, was quite forgotten when the fourth edition of 1715 was about to be printed.

On the third head, of 'erroneous guesses,' the author pleads guilty, alleging that there are also 'true guesses' in the work, and that where an author is writing a history of a period with which he is not absolutely contemporary, it is necessary sometimes to make conjectures to connect the facts together; in vindication of which he alleges that he made Paul Sarpi's History of the Council of Trent his model, having read it through five or six times before he began his own work.

As regards the *defects*, he urges that he had employed every one he could find to help him, and never refused assistance when offered from any quarter; that he had found a Council-book of Edward's first two years, which he had restored to the crown, and that Wharton had the Council-book

of the last four years of the reign, and if the author would present that to the crown, his quotations from it might be open to verification.

There is one more passage of this letter which deserves to be noticed, viz. that at p. 9, in which he notices the reference to a passage in the second part of the Athenæ Oxonienses, where Wood accuses the author of having omitted some and curtailed other of Fulman's annotations. To this the author objected, that he did not expect a writer of his rank to descend so low as to cite such a scribbler, saying, that 'that poor writer has thrown together such a tumultuary mixture of stuff and tattle, and has been so visibly a tool of some of the church of Rome to reproach all the greatest men of our church, that no man who takes care of his own reputation will take anything upon trust that is said by one who has no reputation to lose.' He continues: 'He who has laid together all that the malice of missionaries could furnish him with to blemish the work of one of the greatest men of our church, who was the lasting honour of that see which I do now so unworthily possess, I mean bishop Jewel, does but follow his stroke when he calumniates my history; and he who has so barbarously attacked the memory of my immediate predecessor bishop Ward, who was in so many respects one of the greatest men of his age, but that had appeared with too much zeal against popery to be spared by one of their faction; he, I say, does but like himself when he endeavours to blacken me with his calumnies.' This not unnaturally provoked a reply from Anthony Wood, who speaking of this pamphlet (Ath. Ox. ii. 874), says that in it 'the author, Dr. Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, reflecting in a gross manner by way of back-blow on

the author of Athenæ and Fasti Oxonienses (Mr. A. Wood), that author therefore, under the name of E. D., did soon after answer the said letter in a pamphlet entitled 'A Vindication of the Historiographer of the University of Oxford and his works from the reproaches of the lord bishop of Salisbury, in his letter writ to the lord bishop of Coventry and Litchfield concerning a book lately published, &c. London 1693, 4to, published in April that year.'

There seems to be some doubt about the authorship of this work, which in this passage Anthony Wood certainly lays claim to. But in the Life of Wood, p. 293, this work is attributed to Dr. Wood of New College, his nephew. Yet the writer of that part of the Life, evidently transcribing from Anthony Wood's manuscript diary, writes: 'Mar. 28. My Vindication went to London by the waggon. April 20. Vindication of the Historiographer came to Oxon, and the next day Mr. Kennet sent me six—not exposed to sale till 26th of April.'

Wood was naturally indignant at the contemptuous terms in which Burnet had spoken of him; and in fact Burnet in doing so only exposed his own great ignorance both of Wood's work and the history of its publication. The Vindication of the Historiographer amply shews the absurdity of speaking of Wood, even at that time, as a scribbler or a poor writer in the interest of the church of Rome; and fully answers the charge made against him of calumniating bishop Jewel, and of unjustly attacking bishop Ward for appearing with too much zeal against popery. For his mode of treating these two last accusations the reader is referred to the pamphlet itself. There is no occasion to allude to them further here, as they have no reference to the History of the Reformation.

As regards himself, the writer of the Vindication quotes his own character as given in the preface to the first volume of the Athenæ Oxonienses, by James Harrington; and answers the alleged objection of his obscurity by giving the account of his first work, which was originally written in English, and was put into Latin by the chief heads of the university, and had been quoted by many eminent writers, domestic and foreign, with honourable mention as 'a choice treasure of antiquities.' The book had been published five years at the time of the appearance of the first volume of the History of the Reformation, and had been thought of sufficient importance by the curators of the Sheldonian press, amongst whom was Fell, afterwards bishop of Oxford, to be dedicated to the king, and to be presented to several illustrious persons who had visited the university. The writer further observes, that no part of it had been animadverted upon, but a minute part by Dr. Gilbert Burnet, viz. lib. i. p. 256, which had been criticised. He then prints the passage at p. 85 of Part I. at length, with a few slight verbal inaccuracies, and continues thus (p. 11): 'Thus the church historian. Soon after the author or collector of the Antiquities of Oxford, examining the said Animadversions on that little part of his book before mentioned, he divided them into several pieces, and made answer to each, but were not then printed. The contents of which and the answers follow.' Here follows the substance of the paper, which was printed as an appendix when the Third Part of the History came out, now inserted at p. 571 of the present edition of Part I. It is for the most part in the same words as given by Burnet, but has very many variations in expression, though none in the sense: the most

considerable difference being the omission of the epistolary form at the beginning and end, and of the last eleven lines after the words 'can deny it,' where '&c.' has been substituted for the rest of the letter. After this, he proceeds to retort as follows on the author :—

Thus far the answer to the Animadversions of the Church Historian, made on a little part of *Hist. et Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* Now forasmuch as the said Church Historian doth often quote and make use of several manuscripts and records in the Cottonian Library, it would be well worth the curiosity of some persons to inquire why he did not make use of a certain volume in that library, under Faustina C. 7, containing letters sent from, and copies of charters, privileges, &c. of the university of Oxon: in which letters are several matters relating to the reformation of the said university by certain commissioners appointed by king Henry the Eighth anno 1535. To which may be answered, that there being many vile things in the said letters, which tend rather to the deformation of the said university, (a nursery to supply the church,) they would have spoiled the smooth current of his History of Reformation: and if so, as several curious persons have supposed, it doth, under favour, argue much partiality; and he that is partial is not fit to be an historian. One passage, among the rest, I shall here set down, written by Nicholas Layton, or Leighton, one of the commissioners. His letter, dated the 12th of September, 1535, and directed to Thomas Cromwell, secretary of state, (wherein is mention made of some of the mad work they had done relating to the works of the famous *Joh. Duns Scotus*,) tells you thus: 'We have set Dunce in Boccardo, (meaning a prison in Oxon so called,) and have utterly banished him Oxford for ever, with all his blind glosses, and is now made a common servant to every man, fast nailed up upon posts in all common houses of easement, *id quod oculis meis vidi*. And the second time we came to New College, after we had declared their injunctions, we found all the great quadrant court full of the leaves of Dunce, the winds blowing them into every corner; and there we found one Mr. Greenfeld, of Buckinghamshire,

gathering part of the said book leaves (as he said) therewith to make him scuels, or blaunsheers, to keep the deer within the wood, thereby to have the better cry with his hounds, &c.' Thus, Thomas Layton. Which things were mostly done by Dr. John London, another commissioner, at that time warden of New College, who spared not to abuse his founder, college, university, and his conscience, to gain favour from great persons, and wealth into his purse.

If so be the said commissioners had such disrespect for that most famous author, *J. Duns*, who was so much admired by our predecessors, and so difficult to be understood that the doctors of those times, namely, Dr. William Roper, Dr. John Kynton, Dr. William Mowse, &c., professed that in twenty-eight years' study they could not understand him rightly, (as John Bale, an inveterate enemy to that author and Romanists, reports,) what then had they for others of inferior note? Truly I have very good reason to think that the said commissioners made sad havoc in the university at that time, and were not wanting, upon all occasions, to give an ill report of learning and learned men. So it was, that what the wisdom of former times did advance and cry up, the peevish and base humour of these (1535) did decry and run down; such is the world's career.

He proceeds to vindicate his two volumes of Athenæ and Fasti from the same charge of being contemptible in themselves, and written in the interest of Rome; and concludes with the notice of his accusation of Fulman's complaint that the author had not dealt faithfully with him in publishing his corrections of his first volume. This complaint had been made in the second volume of the Athenæ, and Wharton had made use of this, and perhaps of other private information to the same effect. Burnet in his reply speaks of the work as 'that despicable book.' Wood's reply is as follows:—

As for that passage in Mr. W. Fulman, in the second volume of Athenæ, p. 625, that his corrections of and observations on

the first part of the History of the Reformation of the Church of England were some omitted and others curtailed, &c. The author had from Mr. Fulman himself, who related it several times with reluctancy before him and some of his collegiates of Christ Church college, and seemed to condole his misfortune, that his labours and lucubrations could not stand according to his mind, desiring withal that as the said author had done him right as to the collecting of the works of king Charles the First, and obtaining materials for the writing of that king's life, (the glory of which Dr. Richard Perinchief carried away,) so he would be pleased to do him right in the work (Athenæ Oxon.) that he was then meditating, to let the world know of the omitting and curtailing of many of the said observations. All which he, according to a promise then made, hath performed, and thereby done right to the memory of his deceased friend: which being just and equitable, and not unbecoming an historian, his lordship of Salisbury needed not to expect to see a writer of his (Anthony Harmer's) rank descend so low to cite such a scribbler, especially upon such an occasion, &c. Had it not been for Mr. Harmer's reference to a passage in the second volume of the Athenæ Oxon., the character of a scribbler and other most terrible things of the Historiographer would not have been mentioned; but something must be said, let it be never so unjust, lest an answer should be deficient, *et hinc lachrymæ.*

I cannot but reflect on that sort of creature, who when for their snarling and barking a stone or a stick is thrown at them, they turn tail to him that threw it, and fall with teeth and grins upon the poor instrument of correction. With reverence be it spoken, there is a great likeness in the present case. Mr. Harmer being a little offended with the noise made by the writer of the History of the Reformation, thought fit to cast at him a passage out of Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 625. Upon this, the author of that history turns away from the objecter, and falls upon the book so objected to him, with so much fury that if the book had been burned it had been better used. But pray where's the ingenuity of this method of defence? Would any court of equity allow that when a person stands convicted of a crime by this or that evidence, he

shall not insist upon disproof of the testimony, but fall upon the witness, and call him fool and knave because he dared to prove him guilty? If the writer of this Vindication had treated Mr. Harmer with some scorn and contempt, it had not affrighted him, nor deterred him from inquiring further into the truth of things. And therefore it seems when he foresaw his scorn and contempt would be thrown away upon the said Mr. Harmer, he was resolved to cast it all upon the bystander, the author of Athenæ Oxon. And it was wisely done, not to provoke the man that wore the sword, but to turn the affront upon the naked passenger. And he has effectually done it upon one who can digest a rude thing, and equally neglect greatness and passion.

In this enumeration of works connected with the History of the Reformation, Strype's Life of Cranmer should not be forgotten, as Strype frequently refers to Burnet's previously published volumes, and Burnet in his Third Part also makes reference to Strype. It appeared in 1694, and the preface is dated Sept. 29, 1693, the work having been completed as early as the beginning of the year 1693. It is observable that Strype, as in most of his other works, avoids printing documents which had appeared in Burnet's work.

One of the most remarkable features in the controversy that sprung out of the publication of the History of the Reformation, is the desultory manner in which the attacks were conducted. They seem to have been tolerably equally distributed over the thirty-three years' interval between the publication of the Second Part and the appearance of the Supplement to the two former volumes in 1715. Two years only had elapsed after the Specimen of Errors had been published, when the death of Tillotson, archbishop of Canterbury, furnished the occasion for another outbreak. Probably, if Wharton had lived,

some additions to the Specimen would have been printed, either as an additional volume, or as a supplement to a second edition of the Specimen. But his health began to fail him in 1694, and he died March 5, 1695. Meanwhile Burnet had published his funeral sermon on Tillotson, who died on the twenty-second of November, and was buried on the thirtieth of November 1694. The sermon itself contains nothing remarkable—indeed it is little else but a panegyric on the deceased prelate—but it was quickly followed by a most caustic pamphlet, written by Hickes, but published anonymously, entitled, 'Some Discourses upon Dr. Burnet and Dr. Tillotson: occasioned by the late funeral sermon of the former upon the latter.' (London, 4to, 1695.) We may reasonably conjecture that this attack was mainly provoked by some reflections on the conduct of the non-jurors, whom the author accused of being willing to enjoy the revenues of their sees, whilst they neglected the duties of their office and adhered to the interests of the exiled king. Hickes's assault is not so much an attack upon the sermon as upon the whole series of works published by Burnet during the preceding thirty years; and the point which Hickes chiefly laboured to establish was the inconsistency of the author as exhibited by the contrast between his works published during the reign of Charles II, and those which he had written towards the close of James's reign, and since the Revolution. On the title-page is inserted a passage from one of Burnet's earliest publications, viz. 'A Vindication of the Authority, Constitution, and Laws of the Church and State of Scotland.' (8vo. Glasgow 1673.) This was meant to stand as an *argumentum ad hominem*,

justifying Hickes in his present publication. It was in these words :—

> Remember how severely He that was meekness itself treated the Scribes and Pharisees, and He having charged his followers to beware of their leaven, it is obedience to his command to search out that leaven, that it may leaven us no more. And when any of a party are so exalted in their own conceit as to despise and disparage all others, the love the ministers of the gospel owe the souls of their flocks obligeth them to unmask them.

The pamphlet consists of eighty-eight pages, independently of the appendix and preface, which are not paged. The latter appears to have been written after the rest of the book, but as far as regards its contents is so entirely of the same tone with the rest of the volume, that it might have been incorporated with it, and probably therefore it consists of some afterthoughts. It contains several severe strictures on the attempts at comprehension made by the latitudinarian party, accusing them, and especially Tillotson and Burnet for being willing to give up the essentials of Christianity to conciliate presbyterians at home and foreign protestants abroad ; also some personal accusations against both Burnet and Tillotson as to matters which had in some cases come to the author's knowledge after writing his pamphlet.

Hickes always speaks of Tillotson as the late dean of Canterbury, and divides his pamphlet into three chapters, the first of which has for its object to shew that though what was said of Tillotson was true, no man ought to believe it on Burnet's testimony ; the second is devoted to proving that the character given of Tillotson is not in fact true, but much above his merits ; and the third proceeds to examine in detail the paragraphs of the sermon itself. These subjects

are not kept quite as distinct as they should have been; but it is mainly with the first chapter that we are here concerned.

It contains a great amount of matter of fact not mentioned elsewhere; but the reader must be referred to the volume itself for an account of this. Only so much of it is noticed here as refers to the History of the Reformation and its publication. Suffice it to say, that Hickes rakes together all the passages he can find in Burnet's earlier works, to shew that they are 'full of very many doctrines, rules, and precepts to which the author's life, and all his books since the beginning of the Revolution, have been an open contradiction.' (p. 6.) The first allusion to the History of the Reformation is at p. 15, where he accuses him of calling Henry IV. (vol. i. p. 108) a traitor and usurper; and yet in contradiction to this and to all acts of parliament, which declare him, his son and grandson, usurpers, he had written in his 'Enquiry into the present State of Affairs'—which in another place he says is his, though he does not own it—that the deposition of Richard II was never condemned by any subsequent acts of parliament. 'Surely,' says Hickes, 'when he wrote this his conscience was in a great fit, neither considering what he had written before, nor whether he wrote true or false.' (p. 15.)

The next attack on the History is at p. 21; and it assails a mistake of considerably greater importance. It has reference to the assertion made (Part II. p. 105), that Luther had consented to a compromise between the adherents of the Augsburg and the Helvetic confessions, by adopting a middle opinion; as well as to the document by which this absurd statement is fortified. There is no reason whatever

to accuse Burnet of wilfully misrepresenting this document, yet in point of fact it was copied with so many mistakes, and so large an omission, that it afforded a good handle for the accusation brought against him, of having purposely falsified documents to serve his purpose. Hickes considers this a greater blemish to him and his History than had yet been noted, and was apparently not aware that Seckendorf, in his 'Historia Lutheranismi,' which had been published at Frankfort in 1692, had already noticed the blunder. (See the editor's note, Part II. Records, p. 166, and Part III. Records, p. 192.) Hickes printed the whole of the paper as an appendix to his pamphlet, and it is fairly represented there, with only two or three slight mistakes. And as Burnet had made some twenty mistakes in copying, and those mistakes were of such a nature as to represent in an important particular the exact contradictory of the writer's thoughts, and the rest of the paper, which would have explained the real state of the case, was omitted, it is not to be wondered at that Burnet should have been accused of wilful misrepresentation. Yet in truth nothing more is shewn by it, than to how great an extent an inaccurate and prejudiced mind can be deceived into the belief that certain facts make for its own view of a given case. No one need however be surprised that Hickes should have called upon his readers to compare his own and Burnet's transcripts, that they might 'find the many prevarications which he hath used to set up this pattern of comprehension,' or that he should have used so strong an expression as the following: 'He seems here, as he says of Monsieur Maimbourg, to have broken loose from the common measures of honesty and shame, and to pay his

reader in false coin, which he truly tells Varillas is more criminal in history than in other matters.' (p. 22.)

Further on (p. 25) Hickes proceeds to expose an absurd mistake made in the First Part of the History, p. 209. The letter of Elizabeth to queen Catharine Parr after her marriage with Seymour was described as a letter to Jane Seymour, written when Elizabeth was only four years of age. The contents of the letter sufficiently indicate that the writer was not a child; and the comparison of the two letters, which are on the same leaf of the Cotton MS, shews that the handwriting, if it is that of the same individual, is representative of two very different dates, whereas the author speaks of the two as having been written 'in a fair hand, the same that she wrote all the rest of her life.' Hickes was scarcely overstating his case when he accused him here of writing 'his fancies and inventions for true history,' or in saying that he is very little if anything at all behind Varillas in this fault, which a man of letters, especially a divine that desires to have a lasting reputation, ought to avoid, as much as a tradesman that values his credit ought to take care not to sell counterfeit or sophistical goods.' (p. 25.) 'How many lashes,' he adds, 'must poor Varillas have had without mercy if he had been guilty of such a blunder. *I know*, saith he in his reflections upon him, *there are a sort of men that are much more ashamed when their ignorance is discovered, than when their other vices are laid open; some degenerate minds are more jealous of the reputation of their understandings than of their honour.* And whether this discovery touches the reputation of his understanding or his honour most, I leave him to judge.'

This pamphlet is full of invective against Tillotson and Burnet, and contains a considerable number of anecdotes of the private life of each of these prelates, but there is nothing else that bears directly on the subject of this History. It seems however worth while to refer to the remarks on the Life of Bedell, because of the allusion which they contain to Fulman, whose notes on that book were alluded to above. It appears from Fulman's MSS that he made some observations upon this Life, and Burnet does not appear to have taken any notice of them. The following passage from Hickes's preface falls in with this view :—

> Having mentioned Bishop Bedell's Life, in which I think it is plain our author had but too great a part, I am obliged to let the world know that I had the remarkable observations upon it, which I have put in my following discourse out of a MS. entitled, *Observations upon Bishop Bedell's Life.* The first ground of which were some observations formerly made upon it by the late learned Mr. Fulman, who, as I am informed, sent them to Dr. Burnet, though he was never pleased to take notice of them; and the reason I think is pretty plain why he did not. I must also acknowledge that I had that account of his foul dealing with a MS in Bennet college from a learned hand, who compared the printed copy and the original together. And in truth when one considers what Monsieur Le Grand, Antony Harmar, Mr. Fulman, and others have animadverted upon our author's historical works, one need not consider that he who must needs be conscious to himself of these discoveries, and it may be of more such, should speak so much in derogation of history as he lately did to a young student who hath since given the world an excellent proof of his mighty genius for historical studies and antiquity. Indeed, if all men had written histories as Dr. Burnet knows he hath done, he might well speak against the study of it as a thing which is in itself so uncertain, and not to be depended upon.

Hickes's pamphlet contained so many definite assertions affecting our author's reputation, that he seems to have felt bound to reply to it. This he did in the course of the following year, in 'Reflections upon a pamphlet entituled *Some Discourses upon Dr. Burnet and Dr. Tillotson occasioned by the late funeral sermon of the former upon the latter.* By the right rev. father in God Gilbert, lord bishop of Sarum.' (London, 8vo. 1696.) The author seems to imply (p. 79) that the attack upon the History of the Reformation, especially upon his misrepresentation of Luther's opinion, had decided him to notice this publication. And again at p. 154, he says, that if it had not been to defend the memory 'of that great man and now blessed saint;' and if a passage in the History of the Reformation had not seemed to require it, he would have been content to leave unanswered the personal charges against himself. Of these latter it is only necessary to observe, that some of the allegations he distinctly denies, others he explains more or less satisfactorily. With regard to the general charge of political inconsistency, he attempts to reconcile his advocacy of non-resistance with the part he took in the Revolution, by urging that the doctrine of submission does not extend, and never had been thought by him to extend, to the case of a total subversion of the constitution.

The reply to the exposure of his representation of Elizabeth's letter to Catharine Parr as being addressed to Jane Seymour, can only be spoken of as a dishonest subterfuge. It is as follows (p. 86):—

> He reproaches me for mistaking the subject of a letter of queen Elizabeth's, and fancies it a letter to queen Catharine Parr when she was with child by the lord admiral, after the

death of king Henry VIII. I am not concerned whether his conjecture or mine be the truer, nor do I think it worth the while to argue it. It is but conjecture on both sides. I stand upon my sincerity in all that I affirm, and where that is not shaken I leave my conjectures to take their fate.

It should be remembered in connection with this passage, that the author had not offered it as a conjecture, but asserted positively that the letter was written to queen Jane Seymour, and that on the publication of the Third Part he unreservedly stated that this was a mistake, and that the other was the true representation of the case. Probably the author did not care so much for so unimportant a matter of fact. What really disturbed him most in Hickes's pamphlet was, no doubt, the attack on his false representation of Luther's view on the subject of the 'real presence,' and the charge founded upon it of wishing to set the German reformer up as a witness in defence of schemes of comprehension. The reply to the whole charge is as follows :—

He reproaches me for having in the History of the Reformation published a letter of Luther's imperfectly and falsely; upon which he charges me with many prevarications used to set up this pattern of comprehension. I am now come to that which determined me to write these remarks. I could otherwise have despised the malice of this man, with the same patience and easiness that I had formerly expressed when provoked by him. But I confess I have a true zeal for maintaining the honour of that work, and to justify it from all blemishes. I will not open so black a scene, as to tell what pains some who are called Protestants have taken to undermine the credit of that book. The three persons who were most concerned in it have answered it elsewhere. Two of them were the under workmen to one of a higher form. But hitherto all the attempts that have been made that way have succeeded contrary to their expectation, to the raising and

establishing the credit of that work. I was in summer 1679 desired by the present most reverend archbishop of Canterbury to go and examine the MSS in Corpus Christi college. He met me there, and that learned society afforded me all conveniences for reading or copying their MSS. I do also own the great kindness shewed me at that time by bishop Turner, who not only lodged me with himself, but furnished me with two amanuenses, Mr. Smith and Mr. Tomkinson. They are now in the same opinions and circumstances with our author; but they are men of truth and probity; and I appeal to them how faithfully everything was copied out, and how exactly all was compared. The hands of the reformers, Luther's in particular, were very hard to be read; and though I had then been much practised in reading the hands of that age, yet we were often put to guess, rather than read. In some letters that could not be read, archbishop Parker had writ their meaning on the margent. That letter of Luther's grew so hard to be read, that we could not go far in it; so I only copied out the beginning and end of it. Nothing could be built on it; for I knew if this was a lucid interval of his, it was a very short one. It was faithfully copied, just as we thought we had read it. It seemed to agree so entirely with the method that most of the divines of this church took for a great while of explaining Christ's presence in the sacrament by the term 'real presence,' without using the word 'figure,' that though I never liked that method too well, (for I never cared to use the phrase of 'real presence,' nor avoided to call the sacrament a 'figure,') yet I was willing to shew, that here a way was proposed, and as I thought once agreed to, of keeping the matter in those general words: and thus in compliance with a method that I had never used myself, I honestly published this as I thought we had read it. No comprehension could be designed by this; but that which has been promoted by many of the most zealous divines of this church. The learned and noble Seckendorf addressed some persons to me, to be satisfied concerning that letter. I directed them the best I could. They had free access given them; and they reported no difference to me, but *nihilominus* for *nihil minus*. If either this was too hastily examined, or if the writing seemed to favour those mistakes

with which he charges me, of which I can say nothing at such a distance of time, I am sure whatever might occasion the mistake, there was no fraud intended; there could be none: nor was there any consequence to be drawn from it. It only shewed what Bucer's proposition was, to which I fancied that Luther had once agreed. But so exactly will I follow truth, that whensoever an attested copy of that letter is sent me from that learned body, which two worthy members of it have promised to procure for me, I will certainly publish it in the next edition of my History. And now our author, who has out of his small stock cast in this mite to the treasure of that church to which his natural temper does best entitle him, may see what great inferences can be drawn from it. In a matter of no great consequence there was too little care had in copying or examining a letter writ in a very bad hand.

Allusion to this same record had been previously made by Bossuet in his celebrated work on the 'Variations,' which appeared first in two quarto volumes at Paris in 1688. Bossuet was not aware of the misrepresentation of the record by Burnet, but uses the record itself as an argument against Luther for having changed his opinion on the subject of consubstantiation, as well as against Burnet for having in the text of his History varied from the sense of the words which he had himself erroneously copied from the record. The record as originally printed by Burnet contained the words, *Nihilominus mihi videtur utile, ut mediam, ut novam statuamus sententiam, quâ et illi concedant Christum adesse vere, et nos concedamus panem solum manducari.* Bossuet's accusation of inconsistency in Luther falls to the ground, for the comparison of the passage with the true version of it which was afterwards published by the author in his third volume, shews that it represents the actual contradictory of what Luther meant. The true reading is, *Nihil minus*

mihi videtur utile quam ut mediam et novam sententiam statuamus, quâ et illi concedant corpus Christi adesse vere, et nos concedamus panem solum manducari. Burnet in the text of his History had described the meaning of the passage as follows: that 'those of the Augsburg confession should declare that in the sacrament there was truly bread and wine; and those of the Helvetian confession should declare that Christ's body was truly present, and so without any further curiosities in the way of explaining it, in which divines might use their liberty, the difference should end.' It was of course very difficult to fix any meaning to a passage so mutilated; but the bishop of Meaux appears to have given it a more careful consideration than the original transcriber of it had done. He observes (lib. vi. sect. 42),

Il propose *une nouvelle pensée* pour concilier les deux opinions: il faut, dit-il, que le défenseurs du sens figuré *accordent que Jésus Christ est vraiment présent: et nous, poursuit-il, nous accorderons que le seul pain est mangé: panem solum manducari.* Il ne dit pas nous accorderons *qu'il y a véritablement du pain et du vin dans le sacrement,* ainsi que M. Burnet la traduit; car ce n'eust pas esté là *une nouvelle opinion,* comme Luther le promet icy. On sçait assez que la consubstantiation qui reconnoist le pain et le vin dans le sacrement, avoit esté receue dans le Luthéranisme dès son origine. Mais ce qu'il propose de nouveau, c'est qu'encore que le corps et le sang soient véritablement présens, néanmoins *il n'y a que le pain seul qui soit mangé:* rafinement si absurde que M. Burnet n'en a pû couvrir l'absurdité qu'en le retranchant.

There are several other places in the 'Variations' in which Burnet is attacked; especially for his extravagant praise of Cranmer in his preface, where he compares him to St. Athanasius and St. Cyril. The bishop of Meaux, after mentioning the comparison, and ridiculing Burnet for praising his heroes

of the Reformation, who nevertheless he admits were guilty of great crimes, notices as in point the eulogium passed on Monluc bishop of Valence at Part II. p. 85, as being 'one of the wisest men of that time,' and 'one of the greatest men of that age;' and the scandalous anecdote he afterwards records of the same bishop at p. 204. He then gives the narrative of Cranmer's life, as extracted from Burnet's own account, interspersed with a few comments of his own, enumerating his private marriage as a priest; his subsequent acceptance of the pope's bulls; his hypocritical profession of submission to the pope at his consecration; his calling himself the legate of the apostolic see when he pronounced the sentence of divorce; his annulling the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn on the ground of a precontract with Percy; his subscription to the articles of 1536 in violation of his conscience; his pronouncing the dissolution of the marriage with Anne of Cleves; his complying with all that Henry desired, and his avowal that all ecclesiastical power flows from the crown; his rebellion against Mary, and his twice abjuring the errors of the Reformation; in which last particular he notices that Burnet had compared Cranmer's conduct with that of St. Peter.

The 'Variations' contain a great many other criticisms on the History of the Reformation, and one in the second volume especially to be noticed, as to Burnet's ignorance and misrepresentation of French affairs. In the reply which Burnet made, which was above alluded to in the description of the contents of the 'Letter to Mr. Thevenot,' he defends the changes of opinion amongst protestants as being only the natural course of events as light gradually dawned on people's minds, and retorts on the bishop

of Meaux many of the charges he had brought against protestants, and especially urges that the history of the church to which he belongs is 'one continued thread of variations, and that on so many essential points from what itself was in the primitive time.' The other principal points to which he confines himself are, the vindication of the character of Cranmer, and the charge of misrepresenting the facts of French history.

With regard to the accusations brought against Cranmer, some are omitted altogether, others are softened down on the score of the prejudices of education hanging long about men; but as to the comparison with St. Peter, the author insists strongly on its fairness, and enlarges upon the comparative circumstances of the two falls as being in Cranmer's favour. In the point of his adhering to conscience, he says that he does 'not see any one action in all Cranmer's life, unless it be his consenting to the divorce of Anne of Cleves, in which it does not appear that he adhered strictly to a principle of conscience, though it is a question if that principle was always well measured or not;' also that in dissolving the marriage with Anne Boleyn it is impossible to decide what her confession was, because the record of the sentence is lost, and that his part in the matter of Anne of Cleves 'was only a giving a too feeble consent; so he believing that marriage was no sacrament, might think it subject to political regulations, especially when it was not consummated, so that the rights of nature did not seem concerned.' The author adds: 'Whether this is to be defended or not I will not determine; but certainly this is not so odious a matter as M^r^ de Meaux would make it appear to be.' (p. 29.)

As to the charge of ignorance of French history, the author undertakes to vindicate some of his assertions, and pleads guilty to being mistaken in others; whilst with regard to a third class, he lays the blame on the translator of his History for not having been sufficiently exact in all points.

This controversy lasted till the year 1691, when Bossuet published his 'Etat présent des Controverses et de la Religion protestante' against M. Jurieu, who had attacked his History of the Variations. This volume formed the third and last part of the sixth of the notices against Jurieu which had appeared in this and the two preceding years. In the earlier published notices Burnet is not directly alluded to; but in the last Bossuet notices several points in Burnet's 'Censure,' quoting of course from the French edition. Burnet had compared the unsteadiness of protestants in determining 'the manner of Christ's presence in the sacrament' with the darkness of the first three centuries in their ideas of the Trinity, alleging also that long after the Nicene Council there was not 'the same notion of the unity of the divine essence which has been received now for many ages in the church.' (p. 38.) This, Bossuet observes, is to represent the belief in the unity of the divine nature as just like the unity of other natures; that is, a unity of species or kind. Afterwards, in the same volume, he recurs to Burnet's opinions, where he speaks of him as the best type of the latitudinarian school formed upon the model of Chillingworth, the principles of which are to stand by the creed of the apostles and the ten commandments, and not to impose upon men's consciences any other theological truths. At the conclusion of the work he again recurs to Burnet, quoting the passages at p. 22. 'He

has called it the History of our Variations, but the truer title had been the History of the Progress of the Reformation. If all that he has said were true, it will amount to no more than this, which we grant without his being at so much pains to prove it, which is, that neither were our reformers inspired nor our synods infallible:' and at p. 23, 'After their confessions were once formed, we all know that they have stuck to them perhaps with too much stiffness, so that it were a much easier thing to shew that they ought to have varied than to prove that they have done it.' Upon this Bossuet observes that the evident tendency of these variations, and of the protestant principle of toleration, is towards Socinianism. In further evidence of Burnet having adopted the principle of universal toleration, the bishop of Meaux publishes extracts of two letters written by him in 1687 to M. Papin, who, after having been the antagonist of Jurieu, was three years afterwards received by Bossuet into the communion of the Roman church. Bossuet gives an interesting account of Papin, who fled from his country after the revocation of the edict of Nantes, was ordained in England, and having, as he says, a tendency to carry everything to its legitimate conclusion, though always retaining his belief in the divinity of Jesus Christ, yet thought that those who by exercising their reason upon scripture came to a different conclusion from himself, ought to be tolerated. Accordingly he had published his little volume entitled 'La Foy réduite à ses justes bornes,' in favour of universal toleration; and, after his conversion to Rome, he produced the letters of Burnet to shew that Burnet's principles ought to have conducted him farther than they really had done. They are as follows. The first is an extract

from a letter dated from the Hague, September 3, 1687:—

Enfin je vous souhaite toute sorte de bonheur, mon cher ami. Pour vostre antagoniste [*M. Jurieu*] je ne doute pas qu'il fera tout ce qu'il pourra pour vous nuire, mais j'espere que ce sera sans effet. J'ay veû le livret dont vous parlez [*La Foy réduite à ses justes bornes*], et je demeure d'accord Pour le Gros, quoy qu'il y a quelque chose que peut-estre j'aurois rayé si on m'avoit consulté avant l'impression; car il faut eviter de donner des prises à ceux qui les cherchent. Encore une fois, je vous souhaite un bon voyage et toute sorte de prospérité, et m'asseûre que vous vous souviendrez quelquefois de celuy qui est sans cérémonie et avec beaucoup de sincérité,

Tout à vous,

G. Burnet.

Subsequently to this Papin had sent Burnet a copy of Strimesius's book, 'Dissertatio theologica de Pace ecclesiasticâ.' The title-page of this book bears the date 1689, so perhaps it was sent in manuscript. Burnet's reply, which is dated from the Hague, April 27, 1688, is as follows:—

J'ay veû avec beaucoup de plaisir que M. Strimesius a porté les principes de la tolérance chrétienne fort loin, ce que luy attirera peut-estre la censure de tous les rigides: mais nous verrons comme il sera appuyé; car c'est un pas très digne d'un bon chrétien et d'un grand théologien qu'il vient de faire, et vous avez raison de dire qu'il a porté la tolérance plus loin que n'a fait vostre livre, &c.

Tout à vous,

G. Burnet.

(p. 823.) And here was the termination of the controversy between the bishop of Meaux and our author.

The Convocation controversy between Wake and Atterbury, which originated in the year 1697, in-

cidentally led to a severe attack on those parts of the History of the Reformation which touch upon the subject. The book which began the controversy was an almost forgotten pamphlet by an anonymous author, entitled 'A Letter to a Convocation man concerning the Rights, Powers, and Privileges of Convocations.' This pamphlet, which has been attributed to Dr. William Binckes, but which was really written by Sir Bartholomew Shower, drew forth in the same year a reply from Dr. Wake, entitled 'The Authority of Christian Princes over their Ecclesiastical Synods asserted;' in answer to which came out Atterbury's celebrated work on 'The Rights, Powers, and Privileges of an English Convocation stated and vindicated.' The first edition of this work appeared early in the year 1700, and makes frequent accusations against our author both as regards matters of fact and of opinion. In the preface there are two accusations, the one referring to the mistakes with which he is charged in the general, and the other coupling him with Wake as a censurer of the clergy. With reference to the latter charge he says :—

> My lord of Sarum indeed may freely have taxed the vices of the clergy even in books where he was defending the orders of the Church of England or the truth of the Christian religion. His high station is his warrant for whatever he has done of this kind lately, and a bar to all manner of reply. And his former reprehensions, should they have been somewhat too few, are capable of this excuse—that being a stranger he might not then have thoroughly acquainted himself with the state of our church or the character of its members; and, if he saw faults in them, it was not to be expected that he should conceal them with the same tenderness as if he had had his birth and breeding among them.

His apology for so often differing from Burnet's opinion in other matters is as follows :—

My lord of Sarum too is a name that the reader will find often mentioned in these papers, on the account of some historical mistakes, in which, if I shall seem to have acted too free a part, I must entreat the reader to remember how his lordship justifies himself for observing a slight fault in Mr. Selden: 'This,' says he, 'I do not take notice of out of any vanity or humour of censuring so great a man; my design is only to let ingenious persons see that they are not to take things on trust easily, no, not from the greatest authors.' I desire to have the benefit of this excuse, especially since few or none of his lordship's oversights marked by me are of less moment than that of Mr. Selden's observed by his lordship, and some of them are of very great consequence. Wherever I have dissented from his lordship, I have done it, I hope, with good manners, and I have taken care everywhere to produce my vouchers. Sure I am that were I conscious to myself of any one indecent expression that had in this respect escaped my pen, I would here readily retract it, and make such honourable and public amends to his lordship's character as became me.

It is needless here to notice the passages in detail to which Atterbury objects. Occasionally a marginal reference has been added in this edition of the text of the History to the 'Rights &c. of Convocation,' and several references to the work will be found in the list of *Addenda* at the end of this preface; but it is not within the scope of the editor's plan to discuss the questions at issue between these two writers. He will only observe that beneath courteous expressions there lurks a sarcastic tone, which provoked Burnet to animadvert very severely on Atterbury's work. This he did in a pamphlet which came out in the course of the same year, with the title 'Reflections on a book entituled [The Rights, &c.] By Gilbert bishop of Sarum.' It is a quarto pamphlet of 131 pages, dated at the end 'Salisbury, the 25th of May, 1700.' There is however nothing in Atterbury's work to justify Burnet's description of him in the

opening paragraph of this reply, that 'he had so entirely laid aside the spirit of Christ and the character of a Christian, that without large allowances of charity one can hardly think that he did once reflect on the obligations he lay under to follow the humility, the meekness, and the gentleness of Christ. So far from that, he seems to have forgotten the common decencies of a man or of a scholar.' Burnet proceeds to characterise the style as 'petulant and virulent,' and speaks of the scorn and the malice of the author towards himself, who had no reason to expect such attacks unless he should consider some unsuccessful attempts to serve him as an injury that may justify his writing against him. He complains of the publication being anonymous, but adds that the art is so coarse and the venom so malignant, that it breaks through all disguises. In reply to the charge of censuring the clergy, he answers that it became him to write honestly and impartially, and alludes to two passages in the first volume of the History where he had exposed the vices of the monks and friars. And here is a passage bearing upon the change of circumstances under which the first two volumes and the third were published. In Part III. p. 25, are some extracts from Colet's sermon before Convocation in 1523, inveighing strongly against the clergy of that day, accompanied with the explanation that they had not been printed in the Collection of Records, because those under whose direction he had composed that work thought that 'since it did not enter into points of doctrine, but only into matters of practice, it did not belong so properly to his design in writing.' A somewhat different account is given by the author fifteen years earlier. In this pamphlet, written in 1700, he says :—

When I writ my History of the Reformation I had Dr. Colet's sermon in my hands, and once I intended to have published it as a piece that might serve to open the scene and to shew the state of things at the first beginnings of the Reformation; but I was diverted from it by those under whose direction I put that work. They thought it might have been judged that I had inserted it on design to reflect on the present as well as on the past state of things. I submitted to their advice; but our author seems to seek out for matter of reflection with as much care as I used to avoid it. (p. 5.)

After noticing his agreement with Atterbury on the point that the Commons were summoned to Parliament anterior to the forty-ninth year of Henry III, he says that he was so fully convinced of this, that he had declared his sense of it plainly in his History, 'though that was a little mollified by a parenthesis added by a great licenser; but,' he adds, 'I was severely censured for it.' (p. 8.) The chief point of the pamphlet consists in the attempt to shew that 'for above a hundred and forty years the crown has been in possession of a right of making use of a convocation, or of settling matters of religion without it, at discretion.' (p. 15.)

In conclusion the author makes the following reply to the general accusation of unfaithfulness in the History :—

I come now, in the last place, to consider the treatment that both I myself and my History have met with from him. As to what relates to myself, I let it all go without any sort of answer. I will take no pains to lay open his more disguised strokes and hints, of which there are very many that perhaps few readers will apprehend. But as for my History, I think the supporting of that is of some consequence to the public; and therefore I am much more concerned in the pains he is at to undermine the reputation it has gained in the world. Besides many very detracting passages, there is

one that seems to give a character of the whole, that I will set down in his own words, and then discuss them a little: 'If the main facts he professes to relate are right; if there be no premeditated omissions or disguises of material truths, no designed compliances with popular mistakes and prejudices; if that air of impartiality, which at first sight seems to run through the relation, be undissembled, and not only a more artificial way of conveying false principles and characters into the minds of the reader; if, I say, in these, which are the most essential virtues and beauties of good history, his lordship's labours will bear the test (which his lordship's friends do not much doubt), though it should after this be granted that mistakes of a lesser size and importance abound there without number, and particularly that the digressive part of the book has little of exactness in it, this would not however sink the reputation of the work. It is what considering the haste of the composure was not to be wondered at, and may easily be excused.' A few lines before he diverts himself with pretending that I had excused myself from the neglect of the transcriber, upon whom, he says, he finds I lay very great blame; which, by the bye, is not to be found in the letter he cites, but much to the contrary. To which he adds: 'And indeed if he stands answerable for all the neglects that are or may be charged, I think very deservedly.' And as if all this were not enough to blast that work, he gives two dashes, as intimating thereby that he had a great *et cetera* in store behind. The artifice in putting the *ifs* to so severe a charge is too barefaced to think it can pass on any man; all must see what the writer intended in it; that they should understand the whole period as simple and absolute; so that this charge against the whole in the main parts of it, as well as against the mistakes of a lesser size that abound without number, and against the digressive part of the work as having little exactness in it, is very visibly meant not to be conditional, or as a supposition, but to be full and home: I have reason to take it so, because I find everybody else does it; and if he did not mean it so, the contexture of the whole period is malicious and dishonest both; and that parenthesis (which his lordship's friends do not much doubt) is so poor a reserve,

or rather so gross an abuse, that I have not so mean an opinion of the author's sagacity as not to conclude that he hoped, as well as that he intended, that his reader should understand him aright, and judge that he put in his *if's* as a way of wounding with a little more decency, and to be more secure himself when called upon to justify it.

After this he gives the account of his method of writing his History which has been noticed in the earlier part of this preface. It is remarkable that he says (p. 23) that he took great pains in writing his first volume, and much more in writing the second. This expression must allude to the pains used in compiling it, for the author himself asserts elsewhere that the writing of it took him but six weeks.

There is but one other point which the author undertakes to reply to, and that is the inconsistency between the two accounts given in the second volume of the History, and in the recently published book on the Thirty-nine Articles. In the History he had erroneously said that they were put out by the authority of Convocation, as the English printed title seemed to imply, and as Atterbury hastily concluded they must have been. The author here gives a fuller account of the matter, justifying the account he had printed in his Exposition of the Articles, that they were published only with the royal authority. The account given here corresponds with that given in Part III. p. 210, sqq. and need not further be detailed. The author ends his pamphlet with an apology for not going minutely into more of the charges brought against him, preferring to wait till he sees what more can be alleged, and then promising either to vindicate himself, or to confess any mistakes which shall be proved, 'how little soever of decency or of Christianity there may be in the manner of offering it.' (p. 30.)

The pamphlet was written in four days after the author's arrival at Salisbury. His books and papers being there, he was obliged to delay his reply till he reached home. Atterbury's work, though it was a thick octavo volume, reached a second edition in the following year, with an addition to the preface stating what alterations and enlargements were to be found in it.

'The number of these,' he says, (p. xliii.) 'is not increased by any change made in those few passages which my lord of Sarum has been pleased to single out as most liable to exception, for in those I have not upon a re-examination found myself obliged to alter anything, but have left them just as they stood before his lordship's Reflections came forth; for which I shall ere long give his lordship and the reader my reasons. Nor have I in the meantime been deterred by the weight or justness of his lordship's reply from entering into further considerations of the same nature with those that occasioned it, and making new remarks on some other parts of his lordship's History as they fell in my way, which his lordship will, I suppose, as easily justify. One change only his lordship's Reflections have produced; that whereas before I sent these papers abroad without a name, I have now yielded to his lordship's reproofs so far as to act more freely and openly; the rather because his lordship has been pleased to impute that part of my management to a principle of *not engaging past retreat,* and to a prospect of being *taken off,* as his lordship is pleased to express himself. Had any person of lower rank than his lordship said this, I should have taken the liberty to reply that such motives could not have occurred so readily, but where they had been of familiar use and application. But I know my distance too well to make his lordship such a return, whatever occasion he shall give me for it. However, since it was so easy to set this matter right by adding a word or two in the title-page, I have, upon his lordship's exhortation, done it, being indeed persuaded that this was such a cause as no man ought to be either ashamed or afraid to appear in.'

It is only necessary to add here with regard to this subject, that the original pamphlet of 1697 had first asserted the necessity of a Convocation, and had then claimed the right of its meeting and sitting, as well as of its treating and deliberating. Dr. Wake's answer had denied this right, and Atterbury's work was directed to the establishment of the two points that Convocation had a right to meet and sit as often as a new parliament meets and sits, and also a right of deliberating independently of any 'license under the broad seal of England.' Burnet's opinion may be seen in many passages of the first two volumes of the History, as well as in the third, in which reference is sometimes made to Atterbury's work. Upon the whole he rather avoids the subject, having a low opinion of the value of the deliberations of that body.

The History of the Reformation derived at least one benefit from Atterbury's criticisms, without any acknowledgment on its author's part. It will be observed that in the Collection of Records of Part I. Book III, No. VII, notes 36 and 37, one of the 'items' had been omitted in the Injunctions of 1536 printed from Cranmer's Register. Atterbury was perhaps the first person who discovered the omission, and he inserted the passage in his Appendix, p. 553, as 'An article omitted in the copy of the Injunctions given us by bishop Burnet.' This was supplied in the Records of the Third Part. It is plain, from the exact agreement of the two transcripts in two or three unimportant errors of copying, that Burnet printed this from Atterbury's work. Nor does he seem at all aware that his amanuensis had correctly copied the Injunctions from Cranmer's Register, where, with a carelessness not unusual in that Register, the para-

graph had been omitted; whilst Atterbury's version was taken from a printed copy which was issued by the bishop of London, and which faithfully represents the Injunctions as they appear in Bonner's Register. A similar remark applies to another omission, which Atterbury gives in his Appendix as 'A Mistaken Article in my lord of Sarum's transcript of Bonner's Injunctions set right from that bishop's Register.' There can be no doubt this also was taken from Atterbury's work, and printed by the author without acknowledging where it came from, though there is not the same internal evidence to prove it, the passage having been quite correctly transcribed by the first copier.

There is a brief reference to the History of the Reformation in 'A Prefatory Discourse to an Examination of a late book, entituled An Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, by Gilbert, bishop of Sarum. By a Presbyter of the Church of England.' This anonymous writer was William Binckes, and the attack on Burnet's Exposition of the Articles appeared in 1702. It contains an account of the three heads of complaint made by the Lower House of Convocation. Under the third head, which was 'that there are some things in the said book which seem to be of dangerous consequence to the Church of England as by law established, and to derogate from the honour of its reformation,' the writer charges the author with taking for granted on all occasions that a prince finding his clergy to be so refractory as not easily to be brought to such measures as he thinks needful, may call some few divines to his assistance, and with their advice bring things to what shape he pleases by his *regal authority*. The writer adds (p. 70): 'His

History of the Reformation gives us every now and then a taste of it, taking much less notice of the concurrence of the clergy in synod, or of the part they bore in that great revolution than he might have done.' Further on (p. 73) he observes :—

One that has given the world so large an account of those times as to have published two folios under the title of the 'History of the Reformation,' should, one would think, be so well acquainted with all material circumstances of that whole affair as not to overlook the most considerable part of it, and which most of anything redounds to the honour of our church; and that is the having all things transacted in a more regular way than perhaps in any other reformed church whatsoever. Things, generally speaking, were carried on according to the ancient rules of synodical debates and decisions. A providential juncture of affairs made many things practicable here which other countries could not be so happy as to come up to. This is what we have reason to value ourselves upon and bless God for, and not go about in compliment to others (the better to bring ourselves upon the level with them) to pass over in silence or disguise.

So considerable a part as the convocation bore in all the most material steps that were made towards the Reformation, as well in framing the articles and canons as the liturgy, was what one would have expected to be taken notice of at every turn in such a history, and not find it oftentimes crowded into so little room as we do, and so slightly mentioned, as if it were scarce worth the observing. One would really take that part which ought to have been most dwelt upon (and stood most in need of an historian's pains to set it in the best light he could) to be but as a thing by the bye, a mere circumstance that happened to attend that mighty and happy revolution in the church. It is very often so mentioned, as one would not take it as anything of an efficient cause, or as what did in any measure help on the work, or contribute towards the perfecting of it.

Far be it from any one to go about to detract from a work, for the which the author hath so deservedly had the public

thanks of both houses of parliament; but as he never thought it worth his while to have the like thanks in convocation, (though many have sate since the publication of that book); so it must be confessed he has throughout shewn but too little regard to that part of our English constitution. So far as the Reformation was carried on by convocational decisions previous to public sanctions, there seems to be a sort of designed concealment, and a more than accidental silence.

It is well known that convocations were not only in those days, as well as now, convened by the common course of the law, but also as constantly met and sat as did the parliament: and as in convocation things of the church are most properly cognisable, so it is not to be imagined that so many learned men sat idle when there was so great an occasion of application and diligence; and yet our great historian sometimes makes a line or two serve for a whole session at that very critical juncture when the greatest things of all were transacted. A remarkable instance we have of this, p. 195. vol. ii. A. 1552, after a large account given of the proceedings in parliament, at which time the Reformation received many finishing strokes. It is said on the 15th of April the parliament was dissolved. &c. Then follows this short account: "The convocation at this time agreed to the articles of religion that were prepared the last year." This is so slender an account of that matter, looking as if it were dropped into the History by chance, that one would be apt either to overlook it as an insignificant parenthesis, or run it over as an accidental thing, as little worth the reader's notice, as seemingly disregarded by the author, so far as may be gathered from his way of expressing it.

Whether more might not have been said of that year's convocation, we shall see by and by. In the meantime, that the Reformation was not carried on in the way it is in the Introduction made to be, may be learned from Dr. Burnet himself, without going any farther; and his authority in this case ought not to be questioned, whilst he will so effectually be found to confute what is suggested by the expositor; the historian will soon satisfy the expositor that the church did not lie under that fatal necessity which he seems to suppose it did. There was no want of a regular decision of matters in synod;

nor were things altered by regal sanction only, as we are made to believe in the Introduction, according to what the papists sometimes will pretend to object to us, as if our religion were at first merely secular and parliamentary.

The writer then proceeds to shew by reference to the History that the Reformation was not conducted in the way represented by the author in his Introduction to the Exposition of the Articles. The passages quoted are in Part II. pp. 40, 41, 47, 50, 166.

The last twenty pages of this volume consist of 'An Examination of some passages in the Preface to the Exposition by way of Appendix to the foregoing discourse.' And here the writer attacks bishop Burnet on the ground of his parading the authority of Tillotson and Stillingfleet, as well as that of both the existing archbishops and several of the bishops in favour of his book upon the Articles, and makes the following reference to the History (p. 93) :—

My lord of Sarum may be pleased to remember a story which is not foreign from the business in hand, wherein he was more than a little concerned.

About twenty years ago Dr. Burnet published a very excellent work, take it all together, called The History of the Reformation. It had in effect the public thanks of the kingdom, implied in the votes of both houses of parliament obtained by the author in its favour, which may seem to include the approbation of archbishops and bishops. And who would expect after this that any fault worth taking notice of should be found in such a book? And yet when this History came forth a very great prelate of the church, very eminent for learning, and on many accounts very highly esteemed and reverenced, took offence at a passage in this History, and sent for the author and reproved him sharply for having done great wrong to the memory of archbishop Cranmer, one of our first reformers, one of the compilers of our Book of Common Prayer, and one whom we suppose had a good share in drawing up the Articles of Religion. The

bishop did not tax the historian with any false record, or saying anything that was not really true in itself, but for not having taken due care to set things in such light as to prevent a mistake which the world had been apt to run into; which was that Cranmer was an Erastian, whereas by his subscribing to bishop Leighton's answer to the king's questions it appears that whatever he might sign as president of the college of bishops, and by that means might be obliged to subscribe in returning the opinion and determination of the majority, yet he was himself in his own private judgment orthodox, and accordingly subscribed to the opinion of one that had clearly expressed himself on the right side. Now to bring this to the point in hand; what Dr. Burnet then said for himself was this, that he had shewn his book to a very good judge, viz. the then bishop of St. Asaph; he had approved of it, and highly encouraged the publication of it. When the bishop of St. Asaph, the now lord bishop of Worcester, came to be spoken with upon this matter, his answer was home and satisfactory; that he had indeed read the book in manuscript, and liked it very well, as any one would do that reads it; but it is not to be expected that in reading over two such volumes he should examine every quotation, and look into every record, and compare hands, and act the critic from page to page. A great deal must be supposed to depend upon the fidelity of the historian, and his reputation must answer for mistakes of that kind, and nobody else. Thus the bishop of St. Asaph fairly acquitted himself; but the historian heard of this thing over and over in print, and did what he could to excuse it: but not being willing to acknowledge himself in the wrong, he never could, in the opinion of the world, get clear of the charge.

It does not appear that the author took any notice of this publication. With regard to the attacks on his work as slighting the authority of convocation, his general answer to the charge is contained in the Introduction to the Third Part, p. xvi, where he pleads guilty to ignorance of discoveries which have been of late made, which also those great men under

whose direction the work had been written were ignorant of; yet he avows that, after examining all he could find of such matters, he is not inclined to expect much from assemblies of clergymen.

As regards the matter alluded to in the last extract, the reader will have seen in a previous part of this preface that Burnet had completely in this instance vindicated his good faith and accuracy. The subscription of Cranmer's name to Leighton's paper, in which a different opinion from his own had been given, was simply an endorsement of the paper as being Dr. Leighton's opinion, and not a pretence of agreement with it. No answer was made till 1703, when an anonymous 'Defence of the right reverend the lord bishop of Sarum, in answer to a book entitled A Prefatory Discourse,' &c. was published by John Hoadley, afterwards primate of Ireland. This pamphlet contains an elaborate reply to the allegations of the Prefatory Discourse, and amongst other things an attempt to reconcile the statements in the Exposition with those of the History, the inconsistency of which had been insisted on. The tone of the defence may fairly be estimated by one paragraph which refers to the History, and which is extracted from p. 69 :—

> His History is not in this place to be defended. It is far above your weak designs to lessen it, and it has stood the attack of as ready a heart and a much abler hand than your own without any material prejudice. But it's no wonder that it should not take much notice, as of a leading thing, of the convocational decisions you speak of, since they are, for the most part, merely the fancy of your own head, perfect romance, to be met with nowhere, except perchance in some well kept and inaccessible extracts.

It has been said above that the author did not

himself reply to this attack. But this was speedily followed by other attacks, such as that by Jonathan Edwards on the Second Article, and Thornton on the Twenty-third. To the former of these the author published an answer of eight pages in 1702, and in this he makes a passing allusion to the previous attack made on the latitudinarian tendency of the Exposition. With regard to this point there is one reference made to the History as follows (p. 3) :—

> It has been an opinion very much entertained among us, and plainly insinuated by the two great primates of England and Ireland, Laud (Vind. of Laud, chap. iv.) and Bramhall, to which bishop Stillingfleet was very favourable, that these were *articles of communion*, and intended for a peaceable consent to an established doctrine. If I had designed any such latitude as is charged upon me, I must have tried what could be made of this, and how far it might be carried. Yet I not only rejected this notion in my Exposition, but even in my History of the Reformation, when I gave an account of these Articles; which shews how settled I have ever been in this persuasion; though bishop Stillingfleet excepted to that passage, and thought that at least I might leave it out.

The speech which bishop Burnet made in the house of lords, 14th December 1703, upon the second reading of the bill against occasional conformity, afforded the next occasion for an attack upon the History of the Reformation. The bill, which in substance was much the same as that which had been lost in the preceding year, had passed the commons with a large majority, but was rejected by a majority of twelve in the house of lords, the numbers being seventy-one against-fifty-nine. The bishops were nearly equally divided, and the bishop of Salisbury was its principal opponent, and, as he himself observes (Own Times ii. 364) 'spoke, much against the bill,' urging principally the argument 'that a man

might lawfully communicate with a church that he thought had a worship and a doctrine uncorrupted, and yet communicate more frequently with a church that he thought more perfect.' In support of his theory he adduced the instance of his own conduct in this matter when travelling abroad. He says, 'I myself had communicated with the churches of Geneva and Holland, and yet at the same time communicated with the church of England; so, though the dissenters were in a mistake as to their opinion which was the more perfect church, yet allowing them a toleration in that error, this practice might be justified.' He adds that he was desired to print what he said upon that occasion, and that though the publication of his speech drew many virulent pamphlets upon him, he answered none of them. The speech was in print soon after it was delivered. It came out with the heading, 'A Speech in the House of Lords, December 1703, upon the bill entitled An Act for preventing Occasional Conformity. London 1703. 4to.' In this speech he complains of the treatment he had met with for advocating measures of toleration, and says :—

When I wrote the History of the Reformation, for which I had the thanks of this house, I was then under no bias. I had neither favour nor interest to tie me. So that I wrote purely what was my own sense of things. And yet I took care to mark all the first beginnings of nonconformity, all the grounds they went on, and all the colours that imposed on them, and have shewed the mistakes and weakness of every one of them with an honesty and zeal that ought to set me beyond suspicion. But I own I began the world on a principle of moderation, which I have carried down through my whole life, and in which I hope I shall continue to my life's end. There was a time when those who are now so furious and perhaps so full of hopes needed my service, and I had some

credit which for some years was chiefly employed in their behalf. Your lordships may remember with what vehemence I pleaded for excusing the deprived bishops from the oaths. Others were then and are now in great posts, who I am confident will do me the justice to own that I was then the common agent both for Papists and Jacobites in distress; for which we are now so ill rewarded.' (p. 6.)

Foremost of these 'virulent pamphlets' were two tracts which came out in 1704, of which a brief account must be given here, because of their bearing on the literary history of the present work. The first is a quarto pamphlet of fifty-three pages, prefaced by a dedication to Robert Rolle, esq., signed with the initials H. E., and dated St. Luke 1704. It is entitled 'The Orator displayed; or Remarks on the B—p of S—bury's Speech upon the Bill against Occasional Conformity.' This tract takes the ground of pretending that the speech as printed cannot be correctly attributed to the bishop of Salisbury, because of the inconsistency of its allegations with various previously printed opinions of the bishop. It refers to and quotes at length several passages both of the History of the Reformation and other smaller works of the author's; but as the author did not himself condescend to reply to this attack, and the attack itself was not so much on the History as on the speech, it requires no further notice here.

The other pamphlet, which consists of a few pages only, is entitled 'D. *F. A's* Vindication of the Bishop of Sarum from being the author of a late printed Speech, in a Letter to a Friend.' (London 1704. 8vo.) The initials here no doubt mean Burnet's old opponent, Dr. Francis Atterbury, who was shortly afterwards appointed to the deanery of Carlisle. This tract also professes to treat the speech as 'sup-

posititious,' and that principally on the ground that the bishop of Salisbury was known to be of too logical a mind to have made such a speech, as well as too respectful to the queen to have commenced it as the speaker did with a reference to her majesty's opinions on the matter. Atterbury lays stress also on the long interval of four months which had elapsed between the uttering and the publishing of the speech.

The following passage is the only one in which reference is directly made to the History of the Reformation. It contains the third of the arguments by which Atterbury professes to prove the inconsistency of the author :—

> Thirdly, because the speech reflects very severely on the memory of our glorious reformers, and on the Reformation, which, according to this speech, retains *blemishes not easily wiped off*. Whereas it is well known what honour the bishop of Sarum has done to the Reformation by his learned labours. Add to this that his lordship is too good an historian to be ignorant that the capital proceedings in those reigns were either for treason or blasphemy. And sure it was time for queen Elizabeth to look about her when Kit Goodman, a ringleader of the party, publicly vindicated Wyatt's rebellion in print (see Fuller's History, book ix.), affirming that all those who took not his part were traitors to God, his people, and their country. As for that maxim of the great queen in relation to dissenters of all sorts, everybody may have a faithful account of them in Sir Francis Walsingham's (see Cabala) letter to M. Critoy. And I am sure his lordship's great reading and experience must needs convince him that what indulgence soever may be used in matters of mere religion, yet state heresies are to be more narrowly watched by all prudent governments; and that whoever they be that set up any authority above the prince, whether pope or people, making him accountable to them, and liable to be deposed at pleasure, let the men of this principle be papists, dissenters,

or churchmen, or of what denomination you please, they ought never to be admitted into the administration, for they will certainly embroil it. And therefore no government that means to be safe, and to make necessary provision for its own lawful security, can ever employ them. (p. 8.)

Meanwhile Strype was pursuing his labours, and brought out in succession his Life of Smith in 1698, the Life of Aylmer in 1701, and that of Cheke in 1705; the first of the three folio volumes of his Annals of the Reformation in 1709, his Life of Archbishop Grindal, in folio, in 1710; and that of Parker in 1711. As these volumes, for the most part, treat of a period later than that handled by Burnet, they contain but few references to his History, neither are they for the most part alluded to when the Third Part of the History came out in 1715. There is an occasional reference in this volume to the Life of Cranmer, and to the Annals, besides one to the Life of Grindal; and the author at p. 170 acknowledges his obligations to Strype's works generally, when he states that he has, for the most part, avoided publishing in his Collection of Records what had previously appeared in print.

Collier's Church History came out in two folio volumes in 1708 and 1714. The first of these reaches to the end of the reign of Henry VII, and the author did not in the course of it come across Burnet's path. But the earlier part of the second volume makes constant reference to the two volumes of the History. The times of the Reformation are much the fullest portion of Collier's work, and the references to the text as well as to the records of Burnet's History, are very numerous, though it seldom happens that Collier gives a reference to the text without insinuating some disparaging remark,

and frequently he combats his statements and inferences directly. For some of his documents he refers to Burnet, and indeed quotes them at length in his History. For others he appears to have made transcripts for himself, or else procured them to be made. In his allusions to Burnet, Collier is studiously polite, though there is always a sarcastic tone in his mode of expression. He generally speaks of Burnet as 'our learned church historian,' and in opposing him prefaces his opposition with some such words as these: 'But with due deference to this historian's judgment,' &c. (p. 55.) After stating Burnet's opinion, he observes that he hopes it is so, but is sorry to find this no better proved,' and the like. 'This learned historian supposes,' &c. 'But then he is not pleased to give us the proof of this conjecture.' (p. 68.) 'Our learned church historian offers a conjecture;' 'but this conjecture disagrees with what he has already affirmed.' (p. 74.) 'With submission, how does this appear?' (p. 158.) &c. &c. It would require a volume merely to enumerate the passages of Burnet upon which Collier comments, and it is not the present editor's province to attempt to adjust their differences of opinion. Both were prejudiced writers, but Collier had the great advantage as regards matters of fact in coming after Burnet, and is undeniably a much more accurate writer. It is probable that Burnet's work was in the press, and much of it printed, before the appearance of Collier's second volume. The allusion to it therefore at p. 217 of the Third Part was probably an insertion made as the volume was going through the press. In the preface, however, the author takes notice of the attempt concealed under decent expressions to destroy the credit of his work.

In the year 1710 there was printed at Hamburgh, in quarto, a poem entitled 'England's Reformation, from the time of King Henry the Eighth to the end of Oates's Plot: by Thomas Ward.' As this is not a direct attack upon this particular History of the Reformation, but a burlesque on the mode in which the Reformation in general was conducted, it would have no claim to be mentioned in this preface if it had not been referred to by the author in the preface to his Third Part. The original edition is scarce, but the reprints are numerous and are often met with. The publisher's preface to the reader, which is as follows, gives the best account that can be given of this publication :—

The author of these Cantos had no other motive for the offering you the History of the Reformation in a burlesque style (though an history full of melancholy incidents, which have distracted the nation even beyond the hope of recovery), after so much blood drawn from all its veins and from its head, but that which he met with in Sir Roger Lestrange's preface to the second part of his Cit and Bumpkin, expressed in these words, 'Though this way of fooling is not my talent nor inclination, yet I have great authorities for the taking up of this humour in regard not only of the subject, but of the age we live in, which runs so much upon the droll that hardly anything else will down with it.' He hoped it might prove useful by undeceiving many well-minded readers, it being all matter of fact, supported by marginal notes of sufficient authority, not only from statutes, injunctions, articles, canons, liturgies, homilies, &c., but likewise from the most approved historians, as Holinshead, Stow, Camden, Speed, Baker, Burnet, Heylyn, Clarendon, &c., with other passages not common out of other protestant and presbyterian authors, or (to use the more modern expression now in fashion) of the high and low church. The designs and principles of the first authors of these different reformations at several times are clearly laid open in these verses; and the methods which have been made use of to carry them on, together with the unhappy effects that ever attended

them, may easily open the eyes of all such as are not wilfully blind, and reconcile them to peace and truth. As this was the whole design of the author, so it is that of the publisher.

The poem itself is written in four cantos, with an argument prefixed to each, and very copious references and long extracts placed in the margin, to illustrate the assertions of the text. Occasionally the poem is broken off to insert an extract too long for the margin of a page. The extracts are mostly from Sanders, T. B.'s Life of Fisher, Burnet, and Heylyn. In the middle of the second canto are inserted twenty-five pages, containing in parallel columns the forty-two articles of Edward VI and the thirty-nine of Elizabeth. In the third canto is another long insertion of three pages, containing the alleged mistranslations of passages of Scripture which seemed to favour the old doctrines.

Of the fourth canto nothing need here be said, as it treats of the times subsequent to the death of Elizabeth. The whole work is perhaps more scurrilous than anything that has ever been written on the subject of the Reformation. Very little more is known about the author than that he was a native of Yorkshire, and became a convert to Rome before he was nineteen years of age, having been born somewhere about 1650. His father was a presbyterian Calvinist, whom he displeased and apparently separated from at the time of his change of religion. He was the author of a folio sheet called 'Speculum Ecclesiasticum,' to which Henry Wharton replied in a pamphlet, in which is inserted a reprint of the Speculum. He also replied to Tenison's attack upon the Speculum in a pamphlet entitled 'Monomachia' (4to, 1687). He writes under the name of a Roman Catholic soldier, and denies the imputation that was

thrown out against him, that he had been a student at Cambridge intended for the ministry of the church of England.

Controversies arising out of the publication of Part III.

Nearly a year and a half before the publication of Part III of the History the author put out a small octavo pamphlet, called 'An Introduction to the third volume of the History of the Reformation of the Church of England.' Its preface bears the date September 26, 1713, and it proved the signal for a renewal of the series of attacks upon the author. Probably the success which this pamphlet met with was caused almost entirely by the storm of opposition which it raised. Whatever may be the account of it, it reached a second edition in the course of the following year. This second edition is much more common than the first, so probably there was a larger impression of it. It is the same work that still appears as the Introduction prefixed to Part III, and contains little that is likely to be interesting now, though it attracted so much notice on the occasion of its first publication. First in the field against it was Swift, who in the very same year published a most sarcastic pamphlet under the title 'A Preface to the B—p of S—r—m's Introduction to the third volume of the History of the Reformation of the Church of England. By Gregory Misosarum.' This pamphlet, which appeared on the 8th of December, commenced with the following parody of Burnet's note to the publisher of his Introduction :—

To the Bookseller.

Mr. Morphew,

Your care in putting an advertisement in the *Examiner* has been of very great use to me. I now send you my Preface to the bishop of Sarum's Introduction to his third volume, which I desire you to print in such a form as, in the bookseller's phrase, will make a sixpenny touch; hoping it will give such a public notice of my design, that it may come into the hands of those who perhaps look not into the bishop's Introduction. I desire you will prefix to this a passage out of Virgil, which does so perfectly agree with my present thoughts of his lordship, that I cannot express them better or more truly than those words do.

I am,
Sir,
Your humble Servant.

The title-page contained the motto—

Spargere voces
In vulgum ambiguas et quærere conscius arma.

(London: printed for John Morphew, near Stationers' Hall, 1713.) This pamphlet outstripped the paper which it attacked, reaching a second edition in the course of the same year. There is apparently no difference between the two editions. It was written with the most caustic severity, and consists chiefly of invectives against Burnet for his inconsistencies as a writer and as a politician, and of a vindication of Wharton. It follows the Introduction step by step, ridiculing every position laid down by the author, and especially his fears of the re-establishment of popery. The last paragraph in defence of Wharton is worthy of being transcribed. It is as follows:—

Lastly, I would beg his lordship not to be so exceedingly outrageous upon the memory of the dead; because it is highly

probable that in a very short time he will be one of the number. He has, in plain words, given Mr. Wharton the character of a most malicious, revengeful, treacherous, lying, mercenary villain. To which I shall only say, that the direct reverse of this amiable description is what appears from the works of that most learned divine, and from the accounts given me by those who knew him much better than the bishop seems to have done. I meddle not with the moral part of his treatment. God Almighty forgive his lordship this manner of revenging himself! and then there will be but little consequence from an accusation which the dead cannot feel, and which none of the living will believe.

The next attack on the Introduction was a pamphlet, entitled 'Speculum Sarisburianum,' published in the form of a letter to a friend, under the fictitious name of Philoclerus. There is nothing to indicate the writer's name. It is dated at p. 78, 'December 26, 1713, St. Stephen's day, a martyr out of Smithfield.' Its chief object is to expose the misstatements and misrepresentations and inconsistencies of the author; and to defend Hickes, Leslie, Wharton, and others, who had been attacked by him either covertly or by name. It would be a fruitless task to follow the writer through his seventy-eight pages of invective, and more difficult than profitable to attempt to adjust the rights of the case. There are many statements of facts of which it is impossible now to ascertain the exact truth, where one writer must have been mistaken, and where probably both were wrong. And these are mixed up with opinions which belong to the church politics of the day, and which would be out of place here. There is one passage at p. 16 which is worth preserving, as it may save other literary inquirers from going over the same ground with the editor in his search for a pamphlet entitled

'A Second Letter to the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield.' The writer in his defence of Wharton says, 'It will not be amiss to let the world know that an admirable reply to his lordship's answer to Anthony Harmer was seized at the press, and never suffered to see the light, which might otherwise have given full satisfaction as to that book.' This no doubt is the 'Second Letter,' which must have been a reply to Burnet's letter, which has been noticed above, and which for some time the editor hoped to discover, but which had not appeared in 1714, and therefore in all probability never was published.

The letter contains some very telling passages against the author's political inconsistency, and the change of opinions which he adopted at the Revolution. The concluding paragraph gives a fair specimen both of the style and the matter of the pamphlet. It is as follows :—

His lordship thus (p. 76) pathetically concludes: '*And may I be of that number labouring while it is day, and ready when the night comes to lie down and rest in the grave; or if God calls me to it, to seal that doctrine which I have been practising now above fifty years with my blood.* I heartily wish all happiness, spiritual and eternal, to his lordship; but I think such a large and unexampled freedom with church and state which his lordship has taken is not the way to it, unless *Render under Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's,* be uncanonical scripture, or hath passed his lordship's Index Expurgatorius. But what that doctrine is which he hath been now preaching above fifty years, I profess no man can certainly know; for his lordship hath strenuously maintained some doctrines, and as resolutely again opposed them without being capable of refusing his former arguments; as for instance those of absolute non-resistance of the state, and the spiritual independence of the church, both which are at present under his lordship's

anathema. If his lordship's contradictory doctrinal assertions were to be columnized (debtor on one side and creditor on the other), they would swell up a pretty vendible book, and the balance perhaps might run pretty even; for, for the last twenty-five years he hath preached and maintained resistance and dependence, and for good part of the twenty-five preceding, the contrary doctrines. I must declare to you, sir, unless his lordship makes a special enumeration of them before his death, which he apprehends is near, and will be violent, we cannot be certain what doctrines he means, unless we are to account of the validity of his lordship's doctrine as we do of a will—the last, whatever it be, is to stand, and be reputed the author's legal will and testament. Submitting these remarks to the correction of your much abler pen, I subscribe,

Sir,

Your most obliged,

Faithful servant,

After this occurs a postscript animadverting on the preface to the volume of sermons published in 1713, in which Burnet had given his new account of the Dutch expedition to England, and which contained considerable variations of statement from accounts which he had previously published. It concludes with the words (p. 98), 'And so, sir, I have done with this great champion of churches and states, only shall beg leave to say that some men who designedly forsake truth, (as those infallibly do who knowingly and with perseverance contradict themselves,) how undesignedly do they become advocates for it.'

About the same time there appeared another attack on the Introduction, published anonymously, but written by George Sewell, M.D. It was entitled, 'An Introduction to the Life and Writings of G——t, Lord Bishop of S——m, being a third letter to his

lordship, occasioned by his Introduction to the third volume of the History of the Reformation.' It bears the date 1714 on the title-page; and the preface is dated from York, December 10, i. e. probably 1713. It is a continuation of an attack which the author had begun in two previous letters, the first of which endeavours to expose the author's defamation of the clergy in the preface prefixed to the new edition of the Pastoral Care, published in 1713; and the second is levelled against the preface to the volume of sermons, also published in 1713, in which the account of the Dutch expedition to England under the prince of Orange is given in detail. These first two letters make no allusion to the Introduction to the third volume of the History of the Reformation, and need not further be noticed here. They are both signed with the initials G. S.

These letters, especially the third, are written in a most sarcastic tone. The last of the three takes pretty much the same ground as all the other attacks that came out against the author of the History of the Reformation at this time. Its preface is a parody upon that to Burnet's Introduction, and, as the pamphlet is excessively scarce, may be worth representing here, that it may be compared with the letter to Mr. Churchill in the note at p. x. of Part III.

Mr. Curll,

Your frequent notices to the world that I had a design to write the full and entire history of the life, actions, and writings of the present bishop of Sarum, has been of very great use to me; but, because I would gladly have that work to be as full and perfect as may be, I do now send you some remarks upon the Introduction to the Third Volume of the History of the Reformation, which I intend as a preliminary to my greater undertaking, which I desire you to print in

such a form as is most likely to make it spread into more hands than the gazettes generally reach to, that so it may move them that can furnish me with other materials to help me finish this work with great advantage, for which I am ready to make them all the returns that are in my power. The memoirs which I have already in my hands for this purpose are very numerous, and the encouragements which I daily receive from the learned world have engaged me so far, that I hope to put it to the press in a very short time. The greatest difficulties which I meet with are in the First Part of my History, I being obliged for that to rely upon Scotch manuscripts, or what is worse, the word of the person whose life I write: this, you know, the critics will certainly affirm to be partial. A very worthy person in the university of Geneva has sent me a copious collection of particulars which relate to his transmarine conduct; but upon condition not to name him, which I will observe religiously, because I promised it, though it is not easy to myself, since I may not own to whom I owe so great an obligation. I wish some casuist would resolve me what to do in this case, whether to break my word or preserve my gratitude. Pray go to Mr. Tonson, and desire him to inquire amongst his friends whether a passage out of Livy or Tacitus would be most proper to prefix to this pamphlet, or whether I may not be allowed to use one that has been used a hundred times before.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

G. S.

The contents of this letter mainly consist of a defence of 'the young, the learned, and the pious Mr. Wharton.' The writer lays the same stress that all Burnet's other antagonists do upon his inconsistency, and presses his charge home by reference to two of the author's juvenile publications—the Circular Letter to the bishops of Scotland against their frequenting noblemen's houses and riding in coaches, and the 'Case of Barrenness,' in which the

author had advocated the principle of divorce, in order to enable Charles II. to marry again whilst his queen was still living. As regards the matter contained in the Introduction, the pamphlet accuses the bishop of having drawn up an impeachment against the British nation in general :—

1. That they are stupid, and sunk in their learning.

2. That they are vitiated with atheism and superstition.

3. That they refuse to buy the books relating to the controversy between the church of England and that of Rome, by which means the said books are turned to waste paper.

4. That they do not regard what the said B—— says, acts, or writes ; that they are a deaf adder, and stop their ears to the incantations of him the charmer.

After going through these points the writer takes notice at the conclusion of his pamphlet of the author's alarm to the two houses of parliament, and the great character he gives of himself and his friends, and their resolution either to resist or suffer.

There is little known concerning these scarce publications. The author speaks of himself as not being yet half seventy years of age ; and his works appear to have been collected together and published in one volume in 1715, with the title 'An Essay towards a true account of the Life and Character of the late bishop of Salisbury, in remarks upon, and collections from, his own writings. Dedicated to the clergy of the diocese of Sarum by Mr. Sewell.' The work commences with a preface evidently written during Burnet's lifetime, after which are nine pages headed 'More News from Salisbury,' and then nine pages more, consisting of 'An Examination of some parts

of the bishop of Sarum's Sermon and Charge.' After this come the three letters above alluded to, and then an additional pamphlet of twenty-six pages, headed, 'A Review of three Letters written to the bishop of Salisbury,' in which the writer continues his invective against the author in commenting upon his sermon at St. Bridget's, March 29, 1714, in which Burnet had again expressed his great fear of the restoration of popery at the death of queen Anne.

Meanwhile bishop Burnet was collecting all the documents he could find for the third and concluding volume of his work. There is some evidence to shew that he contemplated continuing it to a later period of the reign of Elizabeth, but perhaps he was deterred from following out his intentions partly by the thought of the great labour that it would involve, and partly by the knowledge that Strype was at the time engaged upon that portion of the history. There is a volume in the Bodleian Library containing several autographs, together with a large number of letters addressed to him, as well as some copies by another hand of letters which he wrote in reply. Amongst them are several papers of various dates, from July 1586 to May 1588, copied from the originals in the State Paper Office in the hand of the amanuensis, who wrote out the earlier Parts of the History for the press. One of these is endorsed in Burnet's hand, 'Copy of the treaty between the queen of England and the king of Scotts 1586; and copies of Courolles the French ambassador in Scotland letters sent to secretary Walsingham about the queen of Scots' death. Copied out of the originals in the Paper Office.'

The other paper, which consists of nineteen pages,

is endorsed 'Directions from the court of England sent unto Scotland anno 1588.' This paper is headed 'Directions and Instructions given to 72, i. e. Sir Richard Wigmore, at his going into Scotland anno 1588.' These papers do not appear to have been made use of by the author. Probably he felt that it was useless at his advanced age to enter upon a period of history which was new to him, and which would have required a much larger amount of reference to manuscript authorities than even the earlier portions of the History of the Reformation.

Near the end of the same volume, which is unfortunately not paged, and which in other respects has not been judiciously arranged, is a copy—no doubt the actual copy from which the document was printed—of No. LXVIII. of the sixth book of the Collection of Records of Part III. On the back of the transcript, and on the page which follows it, the signatures have been transcribed. They appear to have been very skilfully and correctly imitated. They were however omitted by the author when he printed the document, and this probably was owing to the difficulty of reading them. The present editor not having obtained permission to see the MSS. at Hamilton, can only compare this transcript with the copy in the Acta Parliamenti Scotiæ, which however he has reason to think is very exactly executed. The transcript which he is now describing has between the names Jhone hāmilton and Mark of Noubotil, where, in the printed copy just referred to, there is a gap, a name which he conjectures to be that of Adam Dundranen. In the other place, where there is an omission of a name, after Prowest of ——, there is an insertion of a word which is more like Striveling perhaps than anything else. The transcriber has

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probably by an oversight omitted the name of the Provost of Aberdeen, and the words 'of yester' after William lord hay. The last two names he has given are 'Patrek Broun, counselor for Perth,' and 'James Brown,' in the place of Patrek bensoñ a comesar for Perth' and 'Iames barroñ.' There are a few other slight variations in spelling, such as are unavoidable where two distinct opinions are formed as to the spelling of Scotch writing of that period. But the editor is entirely unable in one instance to identify the name of Alexander l. home in the transcript with which it has been collated. It should be added, in confirmation of the view, that this was the copy from which the author printed, that it wants the last two lines, which are also wanting in the original edition.

The same volume contains the following original letter from Sir James Dalrymple, sent to the author with a copy of his 'Collections':—

Edinburgh, Dec. 19, 1713.

My Lord,

Mine to your lordship of the 15th of August last, with the copy of some authentic writs and records, and a copy of my Collections were left with your nephew to be transmitted when he thought convenient. I had the honour of an answer from your lordship of the 23rd of November, for which I render my humble and hearty thanks, and wish I could be assisting in any measure in so religious and useful an undertaking. I understand your lordship is not to begin printing till March next, and to continue your History till the year 1566. Seeing your lordship is pleased to esteem well of the memorial in relation to those authentic writs shewing the general concurrence that was made at Queen Mary's resignation, I hope your History will be continued so far as to comprehend the settlement of king James in the year 1567, when our Reformation was first ratified by the sovereign and estates of parliament, and recorded; for albeit the estates of parliament

by queen Mary's allowance did meet in the year 1560, and pass the same acts for abolishing popery and settling the true reformed religion which was generally professed and zealously maintained against the designs of subverting it, after the queen's arrival in Scotland in the year 1561, yet the protestants could never obtain a ratification and recording of these acts till the 15th of December 1567; and the Reformation was much opposed after the queen came out of Lochleven till her army was defeated, and her majesty retired to England; and many times thereafter attempts were made to set up the queen's authority, and restore popery till after her death in the year 1588, when those who were engaged to assist the Spanish invasion were disappointed and suppressed.

By this, my lord, protestants may see what danger there was to the reformed religion under the influence of a popish prince, or so long as there was hope to have set such an one up. The popish party, as they had been vigilant at home to promote their interest and divide the protestants, so they had always expectation, and even solicitation from papists abroad. Wherefore in my humble opinion it may be proper in your History to take notice of the beginnings of the Reformation in Scotland, and the struggling with the papists, and some insincere protestants falling off to that party when in hopes of prevailing, which by a few reflections may be made in that first period of our Reformation.

Your nephew does acquaint me that your lordship is desirous of a more particular information of these papists who joined in subscribing their hands, who were the earls of Huntlie, Athole, Erroll, lords Borthwik, Sempill, Gray, and Ross, with William Murray of Tullibarden, comptroller, subscribers of the first bond, with some other barons whose religion are not so much noticed by the contemporary historians, but are by them noted to have been forward in the interest of the queen regent, and for establishing the French in opposition to the settlement of the Reformation. Amongst the subscribers of the second bond to the king and his regent the earl of Murray, are the earls of Huntlie, Crawfurd, and Cassiles, the lords Ogilvie and Oliphant; and in the Convention, July 28, 1569, Robert lord Maxwell is in the rolls. That

these lords were popish, will be instructed from the enclosed note from archbishop Spotswood's History, who was a preacher assistant to his father, the superintendent of Lothian living, in these words:—

'I can promise very little assistance to your lordship, but intend to make search in this vacation and before March, and a trusty, intelligent person, who was my under clerk of session and is clerk of Glassgow, has promised in this vacation to bring to Edinburgh the original bond 1567, or a more exact copy of it than what is printed, as likewise of one other bond with many subscriptions of persons of quality in defence of the protestant religion, I suppose entered into in the year 1585.'

Both the president and Sir David have been very much indisposed, but are recovered. We are all very sensible of the great respect you are pleased to signify to our father's family, and for that which you kindly reckon our greatest honour, that so many of our ancestors on all sides had so early and so eminent a share in the Reformation. And I heartily join with your lordship in your prayer to God that we all may adhere to the Reformation, and that your lordship may long continue to be strengthened in your pious and seasonable endeavours to excite and encourage all sincerely to profess and firmly to maintain it, that it may in purity and power be transmitted to all our posterities. I am, in all sincerity, and with great respect,

My lord,
Your lordship's most obliged humble
and most obedient servant,
Ja. Dalrymple.

P. S.—Having the occasion of your friend Mr. Wire, who set off this day by coach, I sent a copy of my Collections to your lordship; I must apologise for its being so ill bound and torn, which not being called for sooner by your nephew, I could find none better; and of the few that are in sheets some are defective. I am likewise to trouble your lordship for one Mr. George Barclay of the family of Gowre, married to a grandchild of the laird of Wedderburne, who was ill looked on in king James's time for endeavouring to reclaim or prevent one

turning papist. Since the revolution he was turned out, and being one, as it is said, of few of his profession who prayed for the queen, was disrespected by the bishop of Edinburgh and others of his brethren, as he thinks upon that account, and denied a share of the contribution for the episcopal clergy here. He has had a lawsuit for his share with the bishop, wherein he has not proved he is truly necessitous and has a numerous family of children. He is desirous, if any contribution be to the clergy, his share may not come to the bishop, but directly to himself or to whom he intrusts. I beg pardon after so long a letter to trouble you with this case, which I may presume afterwards to do.

One other letter upon the subject of the Collections has been preserved in the Bodleian Library. It is from the duke of Hamilton, and is as follows :—

My Lord, Hamilton, Dec. 28, 1713.

I received yours of the . . . and it is very true I have much given over correspondance with any person save my own children. For considdering my age and infirmities, and how little useful I can now be in the world, it is tyme for the world to give over correspondance with me. But hearing from London that you had mett with some accident by ffire amongst your papers when you was reading or writting, I could not forbear informing myselfe whether you had sustained any personall damnage or not, and caused write to your nephew thereof. But he sent me word he had heard nothing of it; and now that you say nothing thereof yourselfe, I am satisfied with the mistake.

You are allways doing good in your generation, and wherein any person can be assisting to your labours, I think they ought cheerfully to concurr. So what papers are in my custody, if you will but name them (ffor I am not so good a judge myselfe) you shall have coppys therof to putt in to your third volume of the Reformation, if you think them worthy therof.

There is one Mr. George Crawford, who is writing an accompt of the peerage of Scotland, and amongst others, he takes nottice of my family, and has seen some of my papers.

My son Selkirk has a coppy of what he has sayd therupon. I have ordered him to waitt on you and show you the same. And I most desire you to continue your former favours to the ffamily, by reviseing and correcting wherein the same is amiss, either in matter of fact or style of language, which will be an additionall favour to the ffamily, to those formerly received by

Your most humble servant
and oblidged freind,
HAMILTON.

I thank you kindly for the books formerly sent me, though I hope your nephew did it at the tyme.

To the Bishop of Sarum,
London.

The following two letters, also on the subject of the forthcoming volume, have been preserved. They are addressed to the Rev. Edward Raynes of Cromwell :—

REVEREND SIR,

I UNDERSTAND from a friend that lives not far from you, that there is a lady that lives at Offington near you, one Mrs. Cartwright, in whose hands there are many of archbishop Cranmer's manuscripts. He who gave me this information assures me both that the lady is a very pious woman, and that you are particularly respected by her, and that you both have a sincere zeal for the Reformation. By this I am so far encouraged, though I have not the honour to be known either to yourself or to that lady, I presume to give you this trouble, and to ask you what truth there is in this that I have heard; and if there is any truth in it, that you will beg of the lady in my name that she will be pleased to send them by the carrier directed to me. I live in St. John's near Clerkenwell; and if you let me know when the carrier comes, and in what inns he lodges, I will be sure to send to receive them, and I dare promise to return punctually whatsoever

I receive after I have made the best use of it I can. I pray God to bless and direct you in all your ways, and am, very sincerely,

Reverend Sir,
Your most obedient humble Servant,
Gi. Sarum.

St. John's, near Clerkenwell,
23d Jany. 1713 [-14].

Reverend Sir,

I had last night your most obliging letter, and though I am disappointed of a hope I was put in, yet I am sensible how much I am obliged to that worthy lady Mrs. Cartwright and to yourself. I humbly beg you will make all acknowledgments to her of my sense of the favour she so readily expressed to me, and the zeal she expressed towards the assisting the design of justifying the great work of God in our Reformation. I owe the same things to her as if the report that had been written to me had been true. So I hope you will do this for me in a most respectful manner. As to what you are pleased to write as to your sense of things, I bless God that there are some of the clergy with whom the true impressions of those past transactions do still remain, how much soever they may be worn out of the thought of others. I am very sensible that I am far short of the value you are pleased to set on me; but by the grace of God I am what I am. I pray God to bless and prosper you in all things. I am,

Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,
Gi. Sarum.

6th Febr. 1713 [-4].

It is much to be regretted that the editor of the British Magazine, who inserted these letters in vol. vi. p. 382, should have given no clue to the originals.

About a year after this letter was written the Third and concluding Part of the History was published; and the author did not long survive its publication, the date of his death being March 17, 1714–15. The attentive reader of the History will have observed that both in the Preface and elsewhere in this Third Part, allusions were made to Collier's Church History. These the author of the History did not think proper to pass by unnoticed. During the lifetime of the writer of the History of the Reformation, and consequently very soon after its publication, he had completed a pamphlet entitled 'An Answer to some exceptions in bishop Burnet's Third Part of the History of the Reformation,' &c.; but the work did not appear till after bishop Burnet's death. There is nothing particularly worth noticing in this pamphlet, in which Collier maintains his own opinion on the points in controversy against the author's insinuations, thrown out in the Preface to the Third Part as well as in his Charge to his Clergy, which was printed in 1714. The bishop had, in his last charge to the clergy, concluded with the same expression of fear of Popery which pervades nearly all his later publications, and had taken occasion to allude to Collier in the following words:—

A voluminous author who has lately pretended to have written our ecclesiastical history seems to have carried one design in his mind from the beginning to the end of his second volume (I have not read his first), to soften and excuse the corruptions of popery, and to aggravate the conduct and to blacken all the steps of our reformers, leaving heavy imputations both on king Edward and queen Elizabeth, charging the last as having done more mischief to our church than her sister queen Mary had done; softening even Thomas Becket's behaviour with this mild censure, that his conduct was not altogether defensible. P. 63.

In one point Collier acknowledges an error of fact. He had been unable to get sight of the Ordinal printed in 1549, and had argued that in all probability it did not contain what the author had asserted he had seen in it. The postscript to this pamphlet is dated April 2, 1715, and makes the following acknowledgment :—

> By the favour of a gentleman uncommonly well furnished with curiosities of the press, I have at last gotten a sight of the Ordinal, printed anno 1549. Upon perusal, I find the bible laid on the bishop's neck, the pastoral staff put in his hand, and the chalice, with bread in it for the priest, some of the consecrating and ordaining ceremonies.

In the latter part of this pamphlet are some strictures on bishop Nicholson's Observations on Collier's History made in the English Historical Library, which was also published in 1714; but with these we are not here concerned. The work was republished at the end of the ninth volume of Barham's edition of the Ecclesiastical History, as was also another tract entitled 'Observations upon the remarks of Mr. Collier in his Ecclesiastical History on several passages in bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation,' which was written by J. Lewis, minister of Margate, and had previously appeared in Gutch's Miscellanea Curiosa. This is a reply to an advertisement in the Evening Post, No. 2254, wherein are inserted the references to the pages of Collier where the bishop's 'mistakes, defective reasonings, and partialities,' are shewn up. The writer, after going through the passages referred to *seriatim*, then proceeds to some further remarks on Collier's Answers to some Exceptions. There is nothing under either head that is worth particularizing.

We may close our account of the controversies

that arose out of the publication of the Third Volume with a short notice of 'A Specimen of the Gross Errors in the second volume of Mr. Collier's Ecclesiastical History: being a Vindication of the right reverend and learned Dr. Gilbert Burnet, late bishop of Sarum, from the several reflections made on him and his History of the Reformation in the several places of it noted in a large advertisement in the Evening Post, No. 2254.' This is a pamphlet of sixty pages which came out in 1724, and which goes over very nearly the same ground with the last-mentioned publication. The writer of it attributes to the advertiser the motive of wishing to damage the reputation of the bishop's History of his Own Times. The preface is dated January 11, 1723–4, so that the pamphlet may perhaps have appeared before the publication of the bishop's great posthumous work. After defending most of the passages in the History which had been attacked by Collier, the pamphlet concludes with an invective against him and Hickes for their position as non-jurors, and contains some curious allusions to the proceedings of that body, as for instance their overtures to a Greek patriarch to acknowledge their communion, signed with the names Ἱερεμίας πρῶτος, Θωμᾶς ἐπίσκοπος, and others.

For the General Index the editor is not personally responsible. He is only answerable for the mode in which some few alterations have been made in the very good index compiled for the edition of 1829. He satisfied himself that the index maker was quite competent to perform the task of altering as well as adding to the original index. He believes it has been accurately done. The Chronological Index of Documents he has himself added at the suggestion

of the Rev. J. S. Brewer. He hopes it may be found useful not only in saving trouble to the calendarers of the State Papers of the reign of Henry VIII, when they arrive at the period of time to which Burnet's History refers, but to others who may want to ascertain without trouble what documents have been preserved by Burnet, and what are their exact dates.

It only remains for the editor to record his grateful sense of the kindness of many friends who have assisted him during the progress of the work. In addition to the names already mentioned of persons who have helped him in particular instances, he cannot deny himself the satisfaction of specifying the readiness and zeal with which the late chief librarian of the Bodleian, Dr. Bandinel, inquired into every matter that was laid before him. Nor are the editor's thanks due in any less degree to his accomplished successor, the Rev. H. O. Coxe. There is one other name which deserves especial mention here. It was owing to William Thomas Bensly, Esq., of Norwich, that the valuable volume which contains the subscriptions to Edward's forty-two articles—perhaps one of the most important of all Burnet's Records—was discovered.

And here the editor takes leave of his work, which he began more than seven years ago, in the vain hope that it would be completed within two years. Whatever may be the merits of the History, the Collection of Records is of indisputable value, containing as it does the most important of the State Papers and other documents connected with the period of which it treats, and which have not, for the most part, been printed in any other collection. He will only observe in conclusion, that he has in his notes and

references afforded every facility to critics for exposing any errors, whether of copying or of any other description, into which he has fallen. The long list of Corrigenda and Addenda is itself an evidence that he has been more anxious to make the book as complete as possible than to spare his own reputation as an editor. Many of the mistakes and omissions which he acknowledges might never perhaps have been discovered. And though perhaps many more may be detected by critics, he hopes any such may be forwarded to him for insertion in an additional page or pages, whenever a sufficient number of material errors of press have been discovered. The text of Burnet's History could never be considered an adequate account of the Reformation of the Church of England; but the book, taken as a whole, with its Records, together with Strype's Memorials Ecclesiastical, which are a supplement to it, must be used as the groundwork for any one who may hereafter undertake to write the Church History of the period; and the Editor ventures to hope that the present edition may save any future writer from the necessity of referring to the originals of such Records as are here printed, and may moreover have contributed some information by indicating other original sources.

Clifton, *July* 20, 1864.

CORRIGENDA ET ADDENDA.

CORRIGENDA ET ADDENDA.

PART I.—HISTORY.

Page 10, *line* 5. The author printed this Commission at length in the Records of the Second Part of his History, Book II., No. XXVIII., where he calls it 'A Commission to Bonner and others to search and raze Records.' There is not a word in it which implies any intention to destroy these Records, but, on the contrary, the object appears to have been to preserve and arrange them. See also Part I. p. 293, for a repetition of the same mistake.

62, sqq. Extracts from Warham's Register relating to this subject may be seen in Kennett's Collections, Lansdowne MS. 978, fol. 143–180.

65, *line* 16 *and last.* See the same volume, fol. 115, 130.

67, *last line but* 8. See Wolsey's Commission requiring Luther's books to be delivered up, in Strype, E. M. vol. i. App. p. 15, No. IX; also see a letter from Longland, bishop of Lincoln, to cardinal Wolsey, on the dissemination of Lutheran books at Oxford, dated from Holborn, March 3, 1525 (?) printed in Ellis III. iii. 77, letter cli.

68, *line* 22. The marginal date should be 1521, as that is the date of original publication. There are at least three editions which bear the date 1522.

69, 70. See Lansdowne 979, fol. 92.

73, *line* 14 *from bottom.* Add another marginal reference: [Fidelis, &c. p. 37.]

80, *line* 17. Add a marginal note: [Fidelis, &c. p. 42.]

83, *line* 19. For information as to this point, see Wood's Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies, vol. iii. letter lxxx. p. 193.

103, 104. Of these two letters from Anne Boleyn to cardinal Wolsey, the first is in Vitellius, B. XII. fol. 4, considerably burnt. It is wrongly entered in the Cotton Catalogue as a letter of Catharine of Arragon. In the last line but one of p. 103 the word *some* ought to be inserted before *news*, and in the last line *that* after *sure*. The letter is printed in its mutilated form by Ellis, I. i. 274, letter xciv., who also erroneously

ascribes it to Catharine. The next letter has been printed from Otho, C. X. fol. 218, in Ellis I. i. p. 305, where the lost parts have been filled up from the copy transcribed before the fire for Fiddes's Life of Wolsey, where it is printed, p. 255 of the Collection. It also appears in Hearne's Sylloge, p. 110. In its first line the MS has *humblest* for *humble*: in the fourth line, *great* is inserted before *help*, and in the last line but five the word *in* after *pains* has been correctly omitted by Fiddes, who here follows the MS., whereas Hearne substitutes the word *for*. On the back still appear the words *legates good grace*.

Page 107, *last line*. See an interesting letter from Warham to Wolsey, dated Sept. 21, excusing himself from conducting Campeggio, on the score of ill-health. (Ellis III. ii. p. 149, letter clxxiv.)

126, *line* 14 *from bottom*. The date of this despatch is June 25. It has been printed from Vitellius, B. XI. fol. 166, in Ellis III. ii. 157, letter clxxviii.; and also in State Papers, vol. vii. p. 190, letter ccxlviii.

127, *line* 11 *from bottom*. In the margin add [May 30. Rymer xiv. 295.]

— *last line but* 1. The expression in the citation is, *inter horas nonam et undecimam ante meridiem*.—Rymer xiv. 300. What is described here as taking place on the 31st of May, really happened on the 6th of June.

149, *line* 12.—*Vide* Sanders de Schismate Anglicano, p. 76. ed. 1586.

— *last line of note*. For *the third*, read *this*.

151, *line* 9 *from bottom*. See also an original letter printed from Harl. 416, fol. 21, in Ellis III. ii. 167, letter clxxxiv., shewing how the subscriptions were obtained.

162. *Vide* Part III. p. 112.

164. This letter is printed *ex autogr.* in Rymer xiv. 405.

166, *line* 1. See a copy of this proclamation in Harl. 442, fol. 109, dated Sept. 12, 22 Hen. VIII.

— *line* 16. See Harl. 1338, where the compiler of the Catalogue states that No. IX. fol. 785 of this volume contains the very book referred to. This volume contains also the Determinations of Orleans, Paris, Angers, Paris, Bourges, Bologna, Padua and Toulouse.

181, *line* 19. See Atterbury's Rights, &c., p. 80, where he observes that it was not '*merely* for appearing in his courts; for then all the clergy could not have been concluded under the penalty, for all had not sued there. But that which made the whole body at once obnoxious was their obeying his mandates, and appearing in his synods legatine, which the clergy had more than once done.'

186, *line* 7 *from bottom*. Remove the marginal reference to 'Chichely's Register,' five lines farther down.

190, *line* 11 *from bottom*. Atterbury says (p. 82. sqq.) that the acknowledgment was not without great difficulty extorted from them, the debates of Convocation being wholly taken up with it for five days together,

in most of which the two houses sat from morning to evening; and during this time at least seven or eight menacing messages were sent them from the king, by the great men of the law, or by some of his privy councillors and nobles. He says that after three days the king was prevailed with to add *post Deum* after the word *caput*, but this form would not pass. So February 11 the archbishop brought in as a further qualification the words *quantum per Christi legem licet*, and then with this salvo the supreme headship was acknowledged.

Page 191, *line* 18. Atterbury, p. 84, quotes his book (p. 58), in which he says, *ego qui dum hæc statuerentur non adfui.*

—, *line* 16 *from bottom.* Atterbury, p. 82, says 'not a petition but an instrument.' The instrument is printed at length in Atterbury, p. 512.

192. *line* 11 *from bottom.* The date should have been February 18th.

193, *last line but* 1. Atterbury (p. 81) refers to Boothe's Hereford Register for the assessments made on the clergy, fol. 174.

201, *last line but* 3. There is no evidence to shew when Carne was sent to Rome as excusator. The author is certainly wrong in following Herbert, p, 364, who states that it was in February, 1532. He was undoubtedly there before the end of 1530, for the king wrote to him and Benet jointly on the 6th of December of that year. (See State Papers, vol. vii. p. 270.) Also on the 28th of October, 1533, Carne writes that he had been nearly four years out of the realm on his master's service. (State Papers, vol. vii. p. 521.) Where the 'instructions' are to be found does not appear. Bonner certainly does not go with Carne, but is sent especially to assist Carne in his office of excusator, January 21, 1532. (State Papers, vol. vii. p. 337.)

203, *line* 10. The cardinals of Ancona and Ravenna are styled respectively in the correspondence of the period, the old and the young man. What letters the author alludes to does not appear. There is one letter from Norfolk to Benet (State Papers, vol. vii. p. 349), which speaks of an offer made to the old man; but the author had not had access to the State Paper Office when he wrote this part of his history.

204, *line* 22. See State Papers, vol. vii. p. 364.

207, *line* 18. The word *seats* is probably a mistake for *states*, as it occurs in Hall, p. 789, and in Fox, ii. 275.

214, *last line.* These bulls are printed at the end of the first volume of Strype's Cranmer, p. 479, Eccles. Hist. Soc. edition.

215, *last line but* 4. The protestation is printed in Strype's Cranmer, No. V., from Cranmer's register.

227, *line* 15 *from bottom.* The sentence is in Raynaldus, tom. xxxii. p. 327, ed. Luc. 1755, professedly taken from Sanders.

261. See a letter of his to Cromwell, asking for Fisher's mitre, staff, and seal, in Ellis III. ii. p. 352, letter ccxlvi., dated Sept. 24, most probably of the year 1535.

Page 262. See a letter from Nix, bishop of Norwich, to Warham, dated June 14, 1527, offering to contribute towards buying up the copies of Tyndale's Translation. (Ellis III. ii. p. 91, letter clv.)

272. Add in the margin, after the reference to Stokesley's Register, [Lansdowne 979, fol. 96.]

277. Add in the margin, after the reference to Stokesley's Register, [Lansdowne 979, fol. 117.]

280, *last line*. These two volumes are now amongst the Royal MSS. in the British Museum, and are marked 7 B. XI. and XII. For a further account of these and other volumes of the Stillingfleet MSS., see the Editor's Preface, p. 84.

284, *in the margin*. After Stillingfleet add 1107, fol. 163. This MS. reads *an* for *a* in the 21st line.

309, *last line but* 10. See Ellis III. iii. p. 9, letter cclix.

314, *first line*. See Atterbury, p. 183.

—, *last line but* 3. Printed by Collier in his Collection, vol. ii. p. 25, and in Strype's Memorials, vol. i. app. No. LXV.

334, *line* 5. This letter appears in Tierney's Dodd II. app. clxxxv.

—, *line* 28. This letter appears in Hearne, p. 165, who printed it quite correctly from Otho, C. X. fol. 231.

—, *last line*. For *of* read *on*.

335, *line* 8. The date of the year is 1548; in which year queen Catharine Parr died, after giving birth to her only child. The letter is printed in Collier, as well as by Hearne.

343, *line* 3. Lee was not archbishop at the time, not having been consecrated till Dec. 10, 1531. The dean and chapter presided in the convocation, and the preamble of the York subsidy had been agreed to on May 4, and the grant completed Nov. 20, 1531.

353, *line* 14 *from bottom*. Pole was not present.

363, *last line but* 1. 'Coblet' is only a misprint in the particular edition to which the editor referred.

374, *last line but* 12. Furness is accidentally described as in Lincolnshire instead of Lancashire.

376, *line* 16 *from bottom*. See the letter in the Camden Society's volume on the Suppression of Monasteries, p. 85, letter xxxviii.

377, *line* 20. This has been printed in Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. civ. ed. 1767.

380, *line* 12. Sallay, in Lancashire: this should have been Yorkshire.

—, *line* 27. See these letters in the volume on the Suppression, pp. 259, 260.

389, *line* 4. See Atterbury, p. 184.

Page 421, *line* 9. This list has been frequently printed, and it is singular that none of its copiers have been able to read aright the last name, Tywardreth. The names have been modernized as usual in the text of the History. See the Camden Society's volume, pp. 263, 264.

455, *last line.* See Atterbury, p. 187.

457, *last line but* 5. The original is amongst the Stillingfleet MSS., MS. 1107, fol. 58–68. It was published with a preface by Tunstall.

468, *line* 1. See Atterbury, p. 188. Add in the margin, [Lambeth MSS. 1107, fol. 181–202].

478, *line* 20. See Wharton's Anglia Sacra, vol. i. p. 615.

498, *line* 25. See Atterbury, p. 193.

522, *line* 12 *from bottom.* See Atterbury, p. 193.

537, *line* 9. There is a folio volume of extracts from this Journal among the Ashmolean MSS. at Oxford, No. 861, fol. 330–350. It unfortunately throws no light on this passage, or on that at p. 315, where a similar reference is given. The Oxford MS. is entitled 'Divers things excerpted out of a Book of Collections made by Mr. Anthony Anthony, Surveyor of the Ordinance to Hen. VIII, Edw. VI, and Queen Mary.' It contains a short abstract of transactions, commencing at p. 331 with the emperor's arrival in England, May 26, 1522. The account of the condemnation of Anne is at p. 333. Of the proceedings alluded to here, there is no mention made.

PART I.—RECORDS.

Page 5, *line* 3. For *præsentes* read *præsens.*

7, *line* 12 *from bottom.* For *odorifero* read *odorifico.*

13. See the pope's bull empowering the cardinal legate to permit the reading of Luther's books for the sake of confuting them, in Rymer, xiii. 742 (dated April 17, 1521).

17. A copy of this protestation, as far as the words *et formâ*, exists among the State Papers; the only variation, excepting minor differences of spelling, being that in the fifteenth line *et* is written instead of *aut*. An English copy is in Speed, p. 100–1.

41, *line* 8. This letter is printed at length in State Papers, vol. vii. pp. 29–35.

48. There is a copy of this in the Record Office, at the time of the editor's writing this, in the Divorce Box of the year 1530, in which there are some variations from the copy as here printed.

Page 61. *No. XV.*—Another copy of this is in the Divorce Box of 1530; and as the copy from which Burnet printed has been destroyed, the following variations are worth noticing:—

line 15 *from bottom.* *Nostram* om.
12 *from bottom.* *Dictus* for *dominus.*
11 *from bottom.* *Discessit* for *decessit.*

62, *line* 17. *Inter vos contrahere* for *contrahere inter vos.*
24. *Anno incarnationis dominicæ* om.

73, *last line.* A letter of similar import, addressed to the Pope, may be seen in State Papers, vol. vii. p. 116.

74. *No. XIX.*—A copy of this is in the Arundel MSS., 151. The earlier part has lost a few words in the fire, but that which is here printed has not suffered.

102. *No. XXIV.*—A copy of this also is among the Arundel MSS., 151; but though the original of the copy here printed is slightly burnt, no word has been lost.

141. A copy of the determinations of Bologna and Padua is in the Record Office, Divorce Box, 1530.

The variations are as follows:—

142, *line* 5. For *illustrato,* the proper word *illustrati* occurs.
17. *solertia per* is read for *contrarias.*
26. *beatissimus pontifex* for *beatissimum pontificem.*
last line but 1. *cujus* for *hujus.*

143, *line* 2. *Munimus* for *munivimus.*
12. *indutum* for *inductum.*

144, *line* 10. *et* om.
21. *omnes* is inserted before *nos.*

It is plain that Rymer did not take his transcripts from the copies in the State Paper Office.

143. The original of the sentence of the University of Padua is among the Harleian Charters, 83, c. 22. The endorsement, which is almost effaced, is 'Opinion as to a brother's marrying his brother's wife, *cum sig.*' It differs in the spelling of words, so as to shew that Rymer did not take his transcript from it; neither did he print from the copy among the State Papers. The principal variation is that *omnes* is inserted before *nos unanimes, indutum* is written for *inductum, fretos* for *freti,* and *omnes nos* for *nos.* The signature of Alexander S. at the end of the document, testifying to its truth, which is printed by Rymer, is not in the Harleian Charter. He has also made some mistakes in copying the *Testimonium Potestatis Paduæ,* which he has wrongly dated 1531. It has the seal attached, and the string still retains traces of its red colour. It appears to have been the copy brought to the king.

145. *No. XXXV.*—This judgment of the Lutheran divines belongs to the year 1536. See Part III. p. 212. It seems probable that the seventh and eighth lines should run thus: *Nicolao Heath, Archidia-*

cono Staffordiensi et, &c. Seckendorf, after quoting the whole opinion from Burnet, adds (p. 112): Annus et dies responso huic non est adscriptus, et Burnetus illud inter acta anni 1530 (forte per occasionem) attulit, lib. ii. fol. 94, sed exemplum ejus Germanicum, Wittenberga ad Electorem transmissum, et D. Casp. Crucigeri manu descriptum in Actis Archivi Vinariensis, anni 1536 reperitur, eique sequentia verba additi sunt, quæ legati, ut videtur, ex proposito omiserunt, ut Regi spem quandam de assensu Wittenbergensium imposterum impetrando relinquerent. *Etsi* aiunt *consentiamus cum dominis legatis, servandam esse legem de uxore fratris non ducenda; mansit tamen inter nos controversum, quod legati statuunt dispensationi locum non esse; nos vero putamus esse illi locum. Neque enim strictius obligare nos lex potest quam Judæos. Si autem lex dispensationem admisit, vinculum matrimonii utique fortius est, quam lex illa altera de uxore fratris.* Hæc clarius intelligi possunt ex Lutheri et Melancthonis scriptis; extat enim Lutheri prolixa epistola ad Barnesium scripta, (absque die quidem et anno,) quæ incipit, *En habe tibi tandem mi Antoni, &c.*, in qua vehementer oppugnat dissolutionem matrimonii cum vidua fratris consummati, et parci vult tum uxoris, tum prolis ex nuptiis illis procreatæ, famæ et juri.

Page 146. *No. XXXVI.*—The volume is lettered on the back, 'Divort. int. Hen. VIII. et Cath. Demonst. Neces. Lib. Ol. T. Cranm. Arch. Can.' On the first leaf is written the date Oct. 9, 1582, and pasted on is another date, October 11, 1582. On the back of fol. 91 is written 'Conc. fol. 91.' The contents are written in a legible hand, but it is not Cranmer's, though the signature certainly is an autograph. Strype is probably right in saying that it is the original book presented to the king.

174. *No. XLIII, line* 13, for *Henrici* read *tituli.*

189. *No. XLVII.*—The only alteration in this document is that in p. 191 the MS. has *separatos et divortiatos* in the 13th line instead of *divortiatos et separatos.*

203, *last line but* 3. The word *nos* is omitted by accident in the Close Roll, and was supplied by Rymer.

204, *line* 12. For *buchularius* read *bachularius.*

205, *last line but* 8. For *episcopi* read *episcopum.*
last line. For *conferetis* read *conferatis.*

225, *line* 15. The word *pro* does not appear on the Roll.
18. After *sucessoribus* read *nostris.*
last line but 11. For *manerium* read *monasterium.*

291. As this letter has been very much mutilated, it is worth while to draw attention to the fact that it had been printed independently by Herbert (p. 382 of the original edition of 1649), who says, 'After which another letter in her name, but no original coming to my hand from more than one good part, I thought fit to transcribe here, without

other credit yet than that it is said to be found among the papers of Cromwell, then secretary, and for the rest seems ancient and consonant to the matter in question.' He adds at the end: 'But whether this letter were elegantly written by her, or any else heretofore, I know as little as what answer might be made thereunto.' There are a great many small variations from the copy here printed, in Herbert's copy. Another copy appears in the Scrinia Sacra, p. 9, ed. 1654 (sup. i. 9), from which it was printed by Heylyn, p. 267, and in the Cabala, vol. i. p. 1, ed. 1691. Since the fire which destroyed and mutilated so many of the Cotton MSS., it has been printed by Mackintosh (ii. 365), with the parts destroyed by fire printed in italics. The second page concludes after the signature as follows:—

my sending a messenger to queen A
Tower willing her to confess the
ould confess no more has she h
he said she must conceal nothing f
she did acknowledge her self so
favour for raising her part f
Marques next to be his queen
bestow no further honor upon
make her by martyrdom a

Page 311, *note*. The omission here was noticed by Atterbury in his Rights, &c., of an English Convocation, p. 111, and the article supplied in his Appendix, p. 553, from a printed copy of that year (1536); but Atterbury says Burnet professes to take them from Bonner's Register; which is not true, for Burnet certainly took them from Cranmer's Register, to which he refers in his margin.

439. The originals of the process, with the autograph signatures to the depositions, are at Hatfield.

515, *line* 9. This paragraph was omitted in the first two folio editions. The omission was noticed by Atterbury, p. 111, and the article printed by him from the Register, in his Appendix, p. 554.

PART II.—HISTORY.

Page 41, *last line*. The expression used by the author was *to tot upon the earl of Hartford*. This has been altered to correspond to the Council Book.

42, *line* 14 *from bottom*. The author printed *good*; but *goodly* is the word used in the Council Book.

Page 72, *last line but* 8. See Atterbury, p. 195, &c.

94, *line* 20. See Atterbury, p. 197, &c.

215, *note*. The mistake most probably arose from the printer misreading the author's handwriting.

247, *line* 1. See Atterbury, p. 202.

260, *line* 19. See Part III. p. 169.

267, *line* 9. The letter is probably in the missing volume alluded to above.

282. The whole account in this and the following page seems taken from a small volume entitled 'De obitu doctissimi et sanctissimi theologi doctoris Martini Buceri Regii in celeberrimâ Cantabrigiensi Academiâ apud Anglos publici sacrarum literarum prælectoris epistolæ duæ.' (Londini, Anno Domini MDLI.) This volume, of which there is a copy in the Museum (4885a), is very small, of a square size, and not paged or foliated. The first of the two letters is from Cheke to Peter Martyr, and is dated from Westminster, March 10, 1551. The other is from Carr to Cheke, and contains the funeral oration in Latin by Haddon, *eisdem verbis quibus ad me aliquot dies post, perscriptam misit*. This was spoken before the interment. After the interment Parker spoke. The next day Redman preached. This letter is dated from Trinity College, Cambridge, Id. Mart. 1551. After this letter there follow several *epigrammata*, and then a letter from Haddon to Cheke on the same subject, dated Mar. 19, 1551: *In Officinâ Reginaldi Vuolfii, Anno* MDLI.

The volume referred to by Baker in the note to this page is entitled 'Historia vera de vitâ, obitu, sepulturâ, accusatione hæreseos, condemnatione, exhumatione, combustione, honorificâque tandem restitutione beatorum atque doctiss. Theologorum D. Martini Buceri et Pauli Fagii, quæ intra annos XII in Angliæ regno accidit. Item Historia Catharinæ Vermiliæ D. Petri Martyris Vermilii Castiss. atque piissimæ conjugis, exhumatæ eiusdemque ad honestam sepulturam restitutæ. Cum orationibus, Concionib. Epitaphiis, variisque encomiasticis carminibus, Lectu dignissimis. Omnia paucissimis hactenus visa, 1562.' This volume was edited by Conrade Hubert, at Strasburg. There is a copy in the British Museum (4886b). It contains, in addition to what the previous publication contains, the 'Concio Parkeri ex Anglico in Latinum versa;' and a third letter addressed by Cheke to Haddon, 19 Mar. 1551; a fourth from Martyr to Hubert, in which he says (fol. 68) '*obiit pridie Kalendas Martias*,' dated Oxon, 8 Mar. 1552; after which comes the '*Vita Pauli Fagii;*' and then the '*Historia de Accusatione*,' &c.; then the '*Historia de Restitutione*,' &c., anno 1560, and the *Concio Pylkintoni;* then a fifth letter from Martyr to Hubert, dated April 22, 1553; then the history of the exhumation of Catharine in 1561, in a letter from Calfhill to Grindal.

There is an English translation in black letter, not paged, of which

there is a perfect copy in the Museum (King's Library, 296, h 40), entitled 'A briefe treatise concerning the burnynge of Bucer and Phagius at Cambrydge, in the time of Queen Mary, with theyr restitution in the time of our most gracious souerayne Lady that nowe is, &c. Translated into Englyshe by Arthur Goldyng, anno 1562. Imprinted at London, in Flete Strete, nere to Saynct Dunston's Churche, by Thomas Marshe.'

Page 343. Melville's Memoirs. These memoirs were soon after published (fol. Lond. 1683) by George Scott, gent., who prefixed an 'epistle to the reader,' giving an account of the mode in which the MS. had been found in the castle of Edinburgh by Mr. Robert Trail (late minister of the Gray Friars' Church in Edinburgh, when imprisoned there), and presented by him to the writer's grandson, Sir James Melville, from whom it came to the editor. It has been several times reprinted. The best edition is that edited by Thomas Thomson, Esq., for the Bannatyne Club, (Edinburgh, 1827, 4to) and reprinted in 1833 by the Maitland Club.

402, *note* 18. A copy of this book is in the Museum (1368c). The *Epistola ad lectorem*, by A'Lasco, is dated *Calissiæ, in majore Poloniâ, 26 Martii, anno* 1558. The prefatory epistle of Utenhove is dated *Cracoviæ, Cal. Feb.* 1559. The book at the end is dated *Basileæ, ex officinâ Joannis Oporini, anno salutis humanæ* MDLX. *Mense Martio.*

486, *note* 87. A copy of the book referred to is in the Museum (3932a). It is entitled 'An apologye made by the reuerende father and constante Martyr of Christe, John Hooper, late bishop of Gloceter and Worceter, againste the untrue and sclaunderous report that he should be a maintainer and encorager of suche as cursed the Quene's highness that then was Quene Marye. Wherein thou shalte see this godly mannes innocency and modest behaviour, and the falshode and subtilty of the aduersaries of God's truth. ¶ Newelye set foorth and allowed accordinge to the order appoynted in the Quene's Maiestye's iniunctions, anno 1562.' The volume, which is in black letter, is not paged or foliated. On its last leaf there is ¶ Imprynted at London by John Tisdale and Thomas Hacket, and are to be solde at their shoppes in Lombarde Strete. Anno 1562.' After the Apology are printed 'Certayne Letters.' One of these is from certain prisoners to Hooper, Jan. 3, 1554, after which follows Hooper's answer, Jan. 4, 1554, stating why he had sent an answer; and then the copy of the letters delivered in the counter at Bread Street, bearing the same date.

The passage referred to by Baker is on fol. 8. The author has erroneously copied Baker's writing *whereas* as *whenas*. In the passage, the words '*and to help her as much as I could when her highness was in trouble*,' have been omitted.

497. The account of Pope Marcellus is in part taken from Onuphrius, p. 307, but appears to give particulars from other sources.

Page 524, *note*. See the Specimen of Errors, p. 145, for a correction of this mistake.

545. 28th of month.—Add a marginal reference, ['Mar. 25. Harmer, p. 146.']

546, *note* 56. The title of this book is: 'Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Angliâ, sive Disceptatio Historica de antiquitate ordinis, congregationisque monachorum nigrorum sancti Benedicti in regno Angliæ, &c., operâ et industriâ R. P. Clementis Reyneri, S. Th. Professoris et eiusdem Cong. Secretarii: Duaci, ex officinâ Laurentii Kellami, 1626, fol.'

625, *note*. This book was perhaps printed by Rob. Waldegrave at Edinburgh, very small 4to. 'A parte of a register contayninge sundrie memorable matters, written by diuers godly and learned in our time, which stande for, and desire the reformation of our Church, in discipline and ceremonies accordinge to the pure worde of God, and the laws of our lande.' The first leaf not paged contains 'the Table.' It consists of letters, &c., against ceremonies, urged by bishops, &c. It consists of 546 pages, after which in larger type is a leaf containing 'A Prayer for the faithfull,' which is in the table as on fol. 547. There are added three leaves, containing 'A briefe aunswere to the principall pointes in the Archbishop's Articles, &c.,' written about an. 1583.

661. Another copy of this letter, evidently taken from the same translation, was afterwards printed in the Cabala, p. 372. The two copies differ in a great many places, as far as single words are concerned. Probably the copy here is more accurate than that in the Cabala. There is a MS. copy in the British Museum, (Ayscough 1775, 15,) which, though apparently the same translation, is not the copy from which the author printed. There are a great many variations, of which the most important are here noticed:—*the practice in contempt*, for *their practices and contempt; with liberty*, for *of liberty; hallowed bread* inserted after *Agnus Dei's; to bring in a democracy*, for *to a democracy; heard considered*, for *here considered; many others*, for *many of the; that a colony of them that affirmed*, for *that affirmed; the communications*, for *comminations; tho' with uproar*, for *through uproar; and softness from singularity* is omitted. The name is signed at full length, 'Francis Walsingham.' Probably Burnet's copy was taken from one of Evelyn's MSS. It is evidently more correct than that in the Museum, though the latter supplies some better readings.

PART II.—RECORDS.

Page 283, *No. XLVI.* The following is part of the original draft in Wriothesley's handwriting :—

Articles against the duke of Somerset :—

1. In primis, you took upon you the office of protector and governor upon condition expressly and specially that you would do nothing in the king's affairs, public or private, but by the assent of the late king's executors, or the more part of them.

2. Also, you, contrary to the same condition and promise, of your own authority did stay and lett justice, and subverted the laws as well by your letters as by your other commandments.

3. Also, ye caused divers persons rested and imprisoned for treason, murder, manslaughter, and felony, to be discharged and go at large, against the laws and statutes of this realm.

4. Also, you have made and ordained lieutenants for the king's armies, and other the king's weighty affairs, under your own writing and seal.

5. Also, you have communed with the ambassadors of other realms, discussing alone with them the weighty causes of this realm.

6. Also, you have sometimes rebuked, checked, and taunted, as well privately as openly, divers of the king's most honorable counsellors, for shewing and declaring their advice and opinions against your purposes in the king's weighty affairs, saying sometimes to them that they were not worthy to sit in council, and sometimes saying to them that you need not open matters to them, and you would therefore be otherwise advised (therefore), and that you would, if they were not agreeable to your opinion, put them out and take others at your pleasure.

7. Also, you had and held, against the laws, in your own house, a court of requests, and thereby did enforce divers the king's subjects to answer for their freeholds and goods, and determined the same, to the subversion of the same laws.

8. Also, you, being no officer, without the advice of the council or the more part of them, did dispose the offices of the king's gift for money, and granted leases and wardes of the king's, and gave presentations of the king's benefices and bishopricks, having no authority so to do, and further you did meddle with selling of the king's lands.

9. Also, you commanded multiplication and alcomestyne to be practised, thereby to abase the king's coin.

10. Also, you are charged that you have divers many times, both openly and privately, said and affirmed that the nobles and gentlemen were the only causes of the dearth of things, whereby the people rose and did reform things themselves.

11. Also, you caused a proclamation to be made concerning inclosures, whereby the common people have made divers insurrections and lived upon war, and destroyed and spoiled the king's subjects, which proclamation went forth against the will of the whole council.

12. Also, you caused a commission, with certain articles thereunto annexed, to be made out concerning inclosures, commons, highways, decaying of cottages, and divers other things, giving the commissioners authority to hear and determine the said causes, to the subversion of the laws and statutes of this realm, whereby much cedycon, insurrection, and rebellion have risen and grown amongst the king's subjects.

13. Also, you suffered traitors and rebels to assemble and to [lie] in camp and armour, against the king, his nobles [and] gentlemen, without any speedy subduing or repr[essing] of them.

Page 361. Since writing the note at Part II. Records, p. 361, the editor has seen, in the library of Queen's College, Oxford, another copy of Queen Jane's Proclamation, which is printed, as described in the Harleian Collection, on three separate pieces of paper. The type occupies exactly eleven inches in length by somewhat more than seven in breadth. It is printed only on one side of the paper, and the third sheet is only half filled. It agrees exactly with the corrected copy, as printed in this edition, and leads to the supposition that some unintelligible mistake had been made in the transcript, and that the author corrected it as best he could from conjecture.

363, *line* 5. For *near* read *come;* and for *provide for* read *prove.*
10. Omit *God.*
11. For *yourself* read *you.*
21. After *speak* insert *you.*
25. Omit *will.*

364, *line* 5. For *not thinking or* read *thinking nor.*
13. Omit *shall.*
15. For *whosoever* read *howsoever.*

The copy from which the author printed this document is in the Arundel MSS., 151, fol. 194, and came to the editor's knowledge after the sheet was printed.

409. As each line of the original occupies about seven lines of the printed copy, the editor has added in the margin the place where every fifth line begins.

431. This letter is in the Arundel Collection, vol. 152, fol. 316. The corrections are as follows :—

line 5. Insert *the* before *accepting.*

432, *line* 4. For *also* read *else.*
15. Insert *had* before *heard.*
33. Insert *of* after *ordering.*

433, *line* 8. For *afterwards* read *after.*
39. Insert *that* after *said.*

Page 434, *line* 38. For *she* read *such.*

435, *line* 24. For *fluttering* read *flickering.*

436, *line* 1. For *and* read *as.*

8. For *commendation* read *recommendation.*

16. For *pleased* read *pleaseth.*

437, *line* 9 *from bottom.* For *day* read *time.*

438, *line* 13 *from bottom.* For *sure* read *surely.*

439, *line* 12. For *legal* read *loyal.*

9 *from bottom.* For *not* read *none.*

445. Add in the margin, [Lansdowne MS. 722, fol. 103.]

line 15. For *metuent* read *metuant.*

last line. For *benignissime* read *humanissime.*

568, *No. XII.* The following important extract from Evelyn's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 290, gives an account of some of this collection of MSS:—

"Concerning the Paper Office, I wish those instruments and State arcana had been as faithfully and constantly transmitted to that useful magazine as they ought; but though Sir Joseph Williamson took pains to reduce things into some order, so miserably had they been neglected and rifled during the Rebellion, that at the Restoration of Charles II. such were the defects that they were as far to seek for precedents, authentic and original treaties, negotiations, and other transactions formerly made with foreign states and princes, despatches and instructions to ambassadors, as if there had never before been any correspondence abroad. How that office stands at present I know not; but this I do know, that abundance of those despatches and papers you mention, and which ought to centre there, have been carried away both by the secretaries of state themselves (when either dismissed or dying, and by ambassadors and other ministers when recalled,) into the country, and left to their heirs as honourable marks of their ancestors' employments. Of this sort I had formerly divers considerable bundles concerning transactions of state during the ministry of the great earl of Leicester, all the reign of queen Elizabeth, containing divers original letters from the queen herself, from Mary queen of Scots, Charles IX. and Henry IV. of France, Maximilian the second emperor, duke of Norfolk, James Stewart regent of Scotland, marquis of Montrose, Sir William Throckmorton, Randolfe, Sir Francis Walsingham (whom you mention), Secretary Cecill, Mr. Barnaby, Sir J. Hawkins, Drake, Fenton, Matthew Parker archbishop of Canterbury, Edwyn bishop of London, the bishop of Winchester, bishop Hooper, &c. From abroad: Tremelius and other Protestant divines, Parquiore, Spinnola, Utaldine, and other commanders, with divers Italian princes; and of ladies, the lady Mary Grey, Cecilia princess of Sweden, Ann countess of Oldenburgh, the duchess of Somerset, and a world more. But what most of all and still afflicts me, those letters and papers of the queen of Scots, originals and written with her own hand to queen Elizabeth and earle of Leycester, before and during her im-

prisonment, which I furnished to Dr. Burnet, now bishop of Salisbury, some of which being printed in his History of the Reformation, those and others with them are pretended to have been lost at the press, which has been a quarrel between me and his lordship, who lays the fault on Chiswell; but so as, between them, I have lost the originals, which had now been safe records, as you will find in that History. The rest I have named I lent to his countryman the late duke of Lauderdale, who, honouring me with his presence in the country, and after dinner discoursing of a Maitland, ancestor of his, of whom I had several letters impaqueted with many others, desired I would trust him with them for a few days. It is now more than a few years past, that being put off from time to time, till the death of his grace, when his library was selling, my letters and papers could nowhere be found or recovered, so as by this treachery my collection being broken, I bestowed the remainder on a worthy and curious friend of mine who is not like to trust a S[cotchman] with anything he values." This extract is from a letter dated 10 Nov. 1699, addressed to archdeacon Nicolson, dean of Carlisle. There can be no doubt that the worthy and curious friend was Samuel Pepys, whose diary and correspondence was published by lord Braybrooke (third edition, in 5 vols. small 8vo, London, 1849). Amongst the Codices Manuscripi Joannis Evelin, enumerated in the 'Catalogi Librorum Manuscriptorum Anglæ et Hiberniæ in unum collecti' (Oxon, 1697), is the following entry (tom. ii. p. 95): '3765–70. Very many letters of state, in Latin, Italian, Spanish, French, English, &c. (originals), from most of the princes and potentates of Europe and their ministers of state, this last hundred years, besides many others from the emperor, king of France, queen Elizabeth, Mary queen of Scots, &c., which I have given to Samuel Pepys, Esq.' There is an allusion in Pepys' Diary to some of these MSS. of Evelyn's in vol. iii. p. 126, where he says, speaking of a visit paid to Evelyn on the 24th of November, 1665: 'He also shewed us several letters of the old lord of Leicester's in queen Elizabeth's time, under the very handwriting of queen Elizabeth, and queen Mary, queen of Scots, and others very venerable names. But Lord! how poorly methinks they wrote in those days, and in what plain uncut paper.'

PART III.—HISTORY.

Page 11, *line* 24. See the Editor's Preface for an account of Mr. Granger.

79, *line* 2. The author has made a mistake both as regards the subject and the date of this letter. In the Collection of Records he has called it 'A letter of cardinal Wolsey's to king Henry about foreign news,

and concerning Luther's answer to the king's book.' Internal evidence easily fixes the date of the letter as being Aug. 4, 1526, four years after Luther's answer to the king's book had been printed. See State Papers, vol. i. p. 169-171. The addressing the king as 'Defender of the Faith' was Wolsey's habitual practice, as may be seen in all his letters in the first volume of the State Papers.

Page 120, *note* 15. The MS. has since been found by Henry Bradshaw, Esq.

423, *line* 15. Baker says he had this letter interlined and corrected in a different hand, which he took to be the cardinal's. It is printed from a wandering copy found at Rome (Cremonæ, 8vo, 1584). This copy he gave to the college with another letter, dated 6 Id. Oct. 1555, 'Ex aulâ Regia apud S. Jacobum,' written with greater acrimony.

501, *line* 13 *from bottom.* May had been elected to the archbishopric before his death. See Le Neve, p. 311.

537, *line* 25. Add in the margin: [Aug. 24, 1560. Acta Parl. Scot. vol. ii. p. 534.]

548. See a copy of her will in Baker's MSS. vol. xxxvi. pp. 301, 302; also Gunton's Peterborough, p. 74; and Strype's Annals, vol. iii. lib. ii. cap. ii. pp. 379–81.

PART III.—RECORDS.

Page 5, *No. XI.* This letter, together with another from Caligula, B. VI. 35, has been printed by Ellis, I. i. 88, 89. The second is written on the same day by Catharine to Wolsey. Abstracts of both are given in the recently-published first volume of Mr. Brewer's Calendar of State Papers of Henry VIII.

41, *No. XVIII, line* 13 *from bottom.* For *inservientem quod res* read *inservientem. Quod si*

line 12 *from bottom.* For *nostri* read *nostræ et.*

last line. For *debeamus et* read *debeamus. Et*

43, *last line but* 18. For *fieret. Missi* read *fieret, missi.*

last line but 16. For *factitari* read *dubitari.*

last line but 6. For *daret in partibus: certe* read *daret: hoc certe.*

last line but 5. For *negat. Si* read *negat, nisi.*

44, *line* 9. For *inter* read *per.*

Page 45, *line* 1. For *si conscia sit, si* read *si conscia est, si . . . . sit, si.*
line 2. For *aperte, non* read *aperte, si non.*
line 3. For *memoravimus* read *commemoravimus.*
last line but 18. For *verba* read *universum.*
last line but 7. For *ullam* read *majoris.*
last line but 5. For *si* read *Et si.*

46, *line* 6. For *petitur* read *petimus.*
line 16. For *naturæ et rationi* read *naturali juri.*
last line but 7. For *quisque* read *quisquam.*

54, *No. XXII.* The reference to Warham's Register *in ann.* given by Wilkins is a mere forgery. The editor is not quite sure whether Wilkins took this document from Burnet, or whether he printed it from the same MS.

In the heading, add *de non consentiendo in statutum promulgatum in prejudicium ecclesiasticæ potestatis.*
line 10. For *reverendissimi* read *sanctissimi.*
17. For *situatum* read *situatá.*
22. For *quádam* read *in quádam.*

55, *line* 10. For *contradicere* read *et contradicere.*

69, *No. XXV.* The date of this despatch must be February, 1533. It must be the letter which Bonner brought with him from England, where he arrived January 25, and which he quitted February 13, reaching Calais on the 14th and Bologna on the 27th, which is alluded to in State Papers, vii. 441, letter cclii. and which is there stated to be missing. See also the following letter, p. 447, for further evidence that this is the despatch alluded to.

91, *No. XXX.* The date of these instructions must be February, 1534. See State Papers vii. 541.

116, *No. XXXV, line* 13. For *in* read *into ;* and delete note 31.
line 8. For *effect* read *effects.*

118, *last line but* 14. For *permitted to* read *permitted them to;* and delete note 37.

489. There are two copies of the translation of this letter in the Bodleian Library, one of which is followed by a copy of the original, preceded by the following letter to Horne, Grindal, and Parkhurst:—

'Reverendis in Christo Patribus D. Roberto Horno Winton. D. Grindallo Londonien. et D. Parcurstho Norvicen. Episcopis in Anglia, Dominis nostris colendissimis, et fratribus charissimis.

'Reverendi viri, Domini honorandi, et fratres charissimi. Dominus Jesus benedicat vobis et servet ab omni malo. Mittimus scriptum nostrum de re vestiaria datum à nobis ad N. et M. viros doctos et pios, fratres nostros colendos. Ideo autem mittimus ad vos, ut intelligatis, insciis vobis primariis ministris, nihil nos privatim agere cum fratribus, et quod per omnia pacem ecclesiarum vestrarum, quan-

tum quidem possumus, quærimus. Oramus quoquè dominum, ut rebus vestris semper consulat, et vos servet in concordia. Vos hortamur viri reverendi, et fratres chariss. ut rationem habeatis fidelium ministrorum, et doctorum hominum, habent hi ferè suas affectiones: unde Apostolus quoque monuit, ut alii aliorum onera portent. Vestra authoritate plurimum potestis apud sereniss. D. Reginam, apud ejus majestatem efficite, ut boni fratres reconcilientur et restituantur. Rogamus item ut tu D. Horne observande domine, et frater charissime, cui primum hæ literæ dari possunt, ilico cures eas perferri ad D. Norvicensem, easque communes habeatis cum D. Juello, D. Sando, et D. Pilchinthono, quibus proximis nundinis Frankford. deo volente scribam. Has festinatissime exaravi, tam meo, quam Gualtheri nomine, et Basileam misimus inde transportandas Antverpiam. Vos sedulo oramus, ut significetis, an receperitis. Optime valete viri reverendi. Dominus benedicat vobis et vestris laboribus. Tiguri. 3 Maii, 1566. 'BULLINGERUS VESTER.'

The running title of this volume is, '*Dominis N. & M,*' where N. stands for Humphreys and M. for Sampson. There are several slight variations between the printed and the MS. copy. The printed copy adds at the end, after the name, '*suo, et Gualtheri nomine,*' but the postscript is wanting, '*Excusum Londini apud Guillihelmum Seres, anno* 1566.' The letter to Sampson and Humphreys was inclosed in that to Horne, &c.; and has been printed in Strype's Annals, I. App. p. 67, though omitted from the originals published by the Parker Society.

Page 540. This letter had been previously printed by Strype in his Life of Grindal, Appendix, No. XI, p. 19.

CHRONOLOGICAL INDEX

TO

THE RECORDS.

CHRONOLOGICAL INDEX

TO

THE RECORDS.

N. B. The paging adopted in this Index is that of the original folio edition as placed in the inner margin of this edition.

The Records, of which the titles are printed in Italics, occur in the text of the History.

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	1320.				
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	1426.				
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Jan. 30.	An instrument of the speech the archbishop of Canterbury made to the house of commons concerning it	I.	ii.	40.	100.
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	The form of bidding prayers before the reformation	II.	i.	8.	104.
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Dec. 26.	The bull for the king's marriage with queen Catharine.....	I.	ii.	1.	9.
Dec. 26.	The breve of pope Julius for the king's marriage, suspected to be forged	I.	ii.	15.	39.

Date	Title of Record.	Part.	Book.	No.	Page.
	1504.				
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Nov. 1.	A writ for a convocation summoned by Warham on an ecclesiastical account	I.	i.	4.	6.
	1510.				
Apr. 5.	Pope Julius' letter to archbishop Warham, for giving king Henry the Eighth the Golden Rose	I.	i.	2.	5.
	1513.				
Sept. 16.	A letter of queen Catharine's to king Henry, upon the defeat of James the Fourth, king of Scotland.....	III.	i.	2.	6.
	1517.				
	A remarkable passage in sir Thomas More's Utopia, left out in the later editions	III.	i.	10.	13.
	1521.				
Aug. 1.	A letter of cardinal Wolsey's to king Henry, sent with letters that the king was to write to the emperor	III.	i.	5.	8.
Aug. 28.	A letter of cardinal Wolsey's to the king, concerning the emperor's firmness to him	III.	i.	6.	9.
Sept. ?	A letter of cardinal Wolsey's to king Henry; with a copy of his book for the pope.....	III.	i.	3.	7.
	1523.				
Feb. 6.	A writ for summoning convocations	I.	i.	3.	5.
Aug. 14.	The preamble of an act of subsidy granted by the clergy	I.	i.	5.	7.
Sept. 30.	The first letter of cardinal Wolsey to king Henry, about his election to the popedom, upon Adrian's death	III.	i.	7.	10.

1523.

Date.	Title of Record.	Part.	Book.	No.	Page.
Oct. 1.	The second letter of cardinal Wolsey to the king, about the succession to the popedom	III.	i.	8.	11.
Oct. 4.	Cardinal Wolsey's letter for procuring the popedom to himself, upon pope Adrian's death	II.	i.	48.	192.
Dec. 6.	The third letter of cardinal Wolsey; giving an account of the election of cardinal Medici to be pope	III.	i.	9.	12.

1526.

Aug. 4.	A letter of cardinal Wolsey's to king Henry, about foreign news; and concerning Luther's answer to the king's book	III.	i.	4.	7.
	A collection of the chief indulgences then in the English offices	II.	i.	26.	150.
	Idolatrous collects and hymns in the Hours of Sarum	II.	i.	29.	156.

1527.

June 6.	A letter of the pope's, upon his captivity, to cardinal Wolsey	III.	ii.	11.	14.
July 29.	A part of cardinal Wolsey's letter to the king, concerning his marriage	III.	ii.	12.	14.
Sept. 7.	A letter written by king Henry the Eighth to cardinal Wolsey, recalling him home	III.	ii.	13.	16.
Dec. 5.	Cardinal Wolsey's first letter to Gregory Cassali about the divorce	I.	ii.	3.	12.

1528.

Jan. 1.	Two letters of secretary Knight's to the cardinal and the king, giving an account of his conferences with the pope concerning the divorce	I.	ii.	4.	21.
Jan. 10.	A part of a letter from Knight to cardinal Wolsey, that shews the dispensation was then granted and sent over	I.	ii.	5.	26.
Jan. 13.	Gregory Cassali's letter concerning the method in which the pope desired the divorce should be managed	I.	ii.	6.	26.
Jan. 20.	Staphileus' letter to the cardinal	I.	ii.	12.	37.

1528.

Date.	Title of Record.	Part.	Book.	No.	Page.
Feb. 10.	The king's letter to the college of cardinals, from which it appears how much they favoured his cause	I.	ii.	7.	28.
Feb. 10.	The cardinal's letter to the pope concerning the divorce	I.	ii.	8.	29.
Feb. 10.	The cardinal's letter to Campeggio .	I.	ii.	13.	38.
Feb. ?	The decretal bull that was desired in the king's cause	I.	ii.	10.	31.
Feb. ?	The cardinal's letter to John Cassali concerning it	I.	ii.	11.	34.
Mar. 7.	Bishop Tunstall's licence to sir Thomas More for his reading heretical books	I.	i.	6.	8.
May 10.	The cardinal's letter to Cassali, desiring a decretal bull might be sent over	I.	ii.	14.	38.
July 23.	The pope's promise in the king's affair	III.	ii.	15.	18.
Sept. ?	*Two letters of Anne Boleyn's to Wolsey*	I.	ii.	—	55.
Oct. 4.	Cardinal Wolsey's letter to Cassali, directing him to make presents at Rome	I.	ii.	9.	30.
Oct. 4.	A part of the cardinal's letter to G. Cassali, desiring leave to shew the decretal bull to some of the king's council	I.	ii.	16.	40.
Dec. 1.	A part of Peter Vannes' instructions, directing him to threaten the pope ..	I.	ii.	19.	47.
Dec. 15.	The pope's letter to the cardinal, giving credence to Campana	I.	ii.	18.	47.
Dec. 17.	John Cassali's letter concerning a conference he had with the pope	I.	ii.	17.	41.

1529.

Feb. 6.	The cardinal's letter to the ambassadors, concerning his promotion to the popedom	I.	ii.	20.	48.
Apr. 4.	A letter of Anne Boleyn's to Gardiner	II.	ii.	24.	294.
Apr. 4.	The office of consecrating the cramp-rings	II.	ii.	25.	295.

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Apr. 6.	The second part of a long despatch of the cardinal's concerning the divorce	I.	ii.	22.	51.
Apr. 6.	The king's letter to his ambassadors to hinder an avocation of the suit	I.	ii.	27.	75.
Apr. 21.	Letter of Gardiner's to king Henry, concerning the divorce	II.	ii.	26.	297.
May 1.	Another despatch to the same purpose [as that of April 6]	I.	ii.	23.	60.
May 4.	A letter from Rome, by Gardiner, to king Henry, setting forth the pope's artifices	III.	ii.	14.	16.
May 20.	A letter from the two legates to the pope, advising a decretal bull	I.	ii.	24.	67.
May 21.	An information given to the pope concerning the divorce	I.	ii.	21.	49.
May 21.	Another despatch to Rome concerning it	I.	ii.	25.	71.
May 31.	A letter from the pope to the cardinal	I.	ii.	26.	75.
June 23.	The king's letter concerning his appearance before the legates	I.	ii.	28.	77.
July 9.	Dr. Bennet's letter to the cardinal, shewing how little they might expect from the pope	I.	ii.	29.	80.
July 19.	A letter from the pope to the cardinal concerning the avocation	I.	ii.	30.	81.
Nov. ?	An act releasing to the king sums of money that were raised by a loan	I.	ii.	31.	82.
	The judgments of the universities concerning the king's marriage	I.	ii.	34.	89.

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Feb. 22.	A letter from Gardiner and Fox, concerning their proceedings at Cambridge	I.	ii.	32.	85.
Mar. 1. Mar. 6. Mar. 17.	Three letters, written by king Henry to the university of Oxford, for their opinion in the cause of his marriage	III.	ii.	17.	25.
Apr. 11.	Some account of the proceedings of the university, in the case of the divorce, from Dr. Buckmaster's book, MS. C.C.C.	III.	ii.	16.	20.

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July 1.	A letter from Croke out of Venice, concerning the opinions of divines about the divorce	I.	ii.	33.	88.
Aug. ?	The king's last letter to the pope	I.	ii.	42.	107.
Nov. ?	Copy of the king's letters to the bishop of Rome	III.	ii.	18.	28.
Dec. ?	An abstract of the grounds of the divorce	I.	ii.	36.	95.

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Feb. 7.	A promise made to the cardinal of Ravenna, for engaging him to procure the divorce	I.	ii.	43.	110.
Feb. 24.	A protestation made by Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, against all the acts passed in the parliament to the prejudice of the church	III.	ii.	22.	36.
Mar. 23.	Bonner's letter concerning the proceedings at Rome	I.	ii.	44.	111.
Apr. 29.	Another letter about the same process	I.	ii.	45.	116.
May 8.	A representation made by the convocation to the king, before the submission	III.	ii.	20.	34.
July 13.	Another letter concerning the progress of the process at Rome	I.	ii.	46.	118.
Nov. 16.	A letter of Gregory Cassali, from Compiègne	III.	ii.	19.	32.

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Feb. ?	A minute of a letter, sent by the king to his ambassador at Rome	III.	ii.	25.	47.
Apr. 21.	A letter by Magnus to Cromwell, concerning the convocation at York	III.	ii.	21.	35.
May 23.	The sentence of divorce given by Cranmer	I.	ii.	47.	120.
July 9.	An act restraining the payment of annates to the see of Rome	I.	ii.	41.	102.
Aug. ?	A letter writ by queen Catharine to her daughter	II.	ii.	2.	242.

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Nov. 13.	A letter of Bonner's, upon his reading the king's appeal to the pope	III.	ii.	23.	37.
Nov. 22.	Cranmer's letter for an appeal to be made in his name	III.	ii.	24.	46.
Dec. 2.	Propositions to the king's council; marked in some places on the margin in king Henry's own hand.....	III.	ii.	31.	71.
Dec. ?	Instructions given by the king's highness to William Paget, whom his highness sendeth at this time unto the king of Pole, the dukes of Pomeray, and of Pruce, and the cities of Dantiske, Stetin, and Connynburg	III.	ii.	30.	62.
Dec. ?	A letter from Cromwell to Fisher concerning the Maid of Kent	I.	ii.	49.	123.

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Mar. 26.	An act for the deprivation of the bishops of Salisbury and Worcester ..	I.	ii.	48.	121.
Mar. 30.	The oath of supremacy, as it was made when the bishops did homage in king Henry the Eighth's time. The last words were struck out by king Edward the Sixth	III.	iv.	5.	198.
May 5.	A renunciation of the pope's supremacy, signed by the heads of six religious houses	I.	ii.	50.	128.
June 1.	The judgment of the convocation of the province of York, rejecting the pope's authority.....	III.	ii.	26.	52.
June 27.	The judgment of the university of Oxford, rejecting the pope's authority	III.	ii.	27.	53.
June ?	Instructions for the general visitation of the monasteries	I.	iii.	1.	131.
June ?	An order for preaching, and bidding of the beads, in all sermons to be made within this realm	III.	ii.	29.	58.
Aug. 17.	The judgment of the prior and chapter of Worcester, concerning the pope's authority.....	III.	ii.	28.	55.

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Dec. 17.	A paper of Luther concerning a reconciliation with the Zuinglians	II.	i.	34.	166.
Dec. 17.	Instructions given by Luther to Melanchthon, 1534; of which, one article was erroneously published by me in my second volume, and that being complained of, the whole is now published	III.	iv.	1.	192.

1535.

Jan. ?	A letter of Barlow's to Cromwell, complaining of the bishop and clergy of St. David's	III.	iii.	38.	90.
Mar. ?	Sir T. More's letter to Cromwell concerning the Nun of Kent.....	II.	ii.	21.	286.
May 12.	Cranmer's letter to Cromwell, justifying himself upon some complaints made by Gardiner	III.	iii.	37.	87.
May ?	The engagement sent over by the French king to king Henry, promising that he would adhere to him, in condemning his first and in justifying his second marriage.....	III.	ii.	36.	84.
June 14.	A letter of the archbishop of York, setting forth his zeal in the king's service, and against the pope's authority	III.	ii.	34.	77.
June 25.	A letter against the pope's authority and his followers, setting forth their treasons	III.	ii.	32.	73.
July 26.	Instructions for sending Barnes and others to Germany.....	III.	iii.	42.	97.
Aug. 23.	A letter of Cromwell's to the king's ambassador in France, full of expostulations	III.	ii.	35.	80.
Oct. ?	General injunctions sent by the king to all the monasteries	I.	iii.	2.	137.
Nov. 5.	A letter of the abbess of Godstow, complaining of Dr. London	III.	iii.	54.	130.
	Some particulars relating to the dissolution of monasteries	I.	iii.	3.	141.
Nov. 13.	Sect. I. Of the preambles of some surrenders. Surrender of the monastery of Langdon.....	I.	iii.	3.	141.

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Aug. 17, 1336, to July 12, 1538.	Sect. II. A list of religious houses that were of new founded by the king, after the act for their dissolution	I.	iii.	3.	142.
Nov. 13, 1535, to Mar. 23, 1540.	Sect. III. A list of all the surrenders of monasteries which are extant	I.	iii.	3.	143.
Sept. 25, 1538, Oct. 8, 1538.	Sect. IV. The confessions made by some abbots	I.	iii.	3.	149.
Jan. 10, 1540.	Sect. V. Of the manner of suppressing the monasteries, after they were surrendered	I.	iii.	3.	151.
Dec. 25.	The Smalcaldic league	III.	iii.	43.	99.
Dec. 25.	Propositions made to the king by the German princes	III.	iii.	44.	103.

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Jan. 13.	A letter of Dr. Legh's, concerning their visitation at York	III.	iii.	39.	92.
Jan. 29.	A letter of Tunstall's, upon the king's ordering the bishops to send up their bulls	III.	iii.	40.	93.
Jan. ?	The answer of the king to the petitions and articles lately addressed to his highness, from John Frederick duke of Saxe, elector, &c. and Philip landgrave van Hesse, in the name of them and all their confederates	III.	iii.	45.	106.
Feb. ?	The judgment of the Lutheran divines about the king's marriage	I.	ii.	35.	94.
Feb. ?	The answer of the king's ambassadors, made to the duke of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse	III.	iii.	46.	108.
Mar. 7.	A mandate for the consecration of suffragan bishops	I.	ii.	51.	130.
Mar. ?	Instructions for a visitation of monasteries, in order to their dissolution	I.	iii.	6.	157.
Apr. 16.	A proclamation against seditious preachers	III.	ii.	33.	76.

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Apr. 23.	A letter of the archbishop of York's, concerning the suppression of the monasteries	III.	iii.	41.	95.
May 3.	*Cranmer's letter to the king about Anne Boleyn*	I.	iii.	—	200.
May 6.	Queen Anne Boleyn's last letter to king Henry	I.	iii.	4.	154.
May 6.	*Letter of the lieutenant of the Tower about Anne Boleyn*	I.	iii.	—	204.
May 13.	The earl of Northumberland's letter to Cromwell, denying any contract, or promise of marriage, between queen Anne and himself	III.	iii.	49.	113.
June 15.	*Mary's submission under her own hand*	I.	iii.	—	208.
June 15.	A humble submission made by queen Mary to her father	II.	ii.	3.	243.
June 16.	A letter written by her to Cromwell, containing a full submission in all points of religion to her father's pleasure	II.	ii.	6.	247.
June 26.	Another of the same strain confirming the former [letter of June 15]	II.	ii.	4.	245.
June ?	The copy of a commission of visitation granted by the general commission of the lord Cromwell's in Henry VIII.	II.	ii.	29.	303.
June ?	Instructions by cardinal Pole, to one he sent to king Henry	III.	iii.	51.	116.
July 8.	Another [letter of Mary's] to the same purpose [with that of June 26]	II.	ii.	5.	246.
July 11.	Addenda 1. Articles about religion, set out by the convocation, and published by the king's authority	I.	iii.	—	305.
July 13.	A letter to Pole, from the bishop of Durham	III.	iii.	52.	120.
July 20.	The judgment of the convocation concerning general councils	I.	iii.	5.	155.
July ?	Instructions given by the king to the clergy	I.	iii.	7.	160.
July ?	An omission in the injunctions set forth by Cromwell in the king's name, in the 1st vol. Hist. Reform., Coll. of Rec., p. 160	III.	iii.	60.	147.

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Aug. 16.	An oath made to king Henry the Eighth, agreeing exactly with that p. 146 of the first vol. of the History of the Reformation, except that the words *alonely* in the first line and *damage* in the last line but two of that oath are wanting	III.	iii.	28.	56.
Nov. 19.	Addenda 9. A letter written by the king to his bishops; directing them how to instruct the people	I.	iii.	—	360.

1537.

Jan. 7.	A letter of Cromwell's to the bishop of Llandaff, directing him how to proceed in the reformation	I.	iii.	13.	183.
Mar. 26.	A letter writ to the king by the princes of the Smalcaldic league	III.	iii.	47.	110.
Mar. ?	*A resolution of some bishops about calling a general council*	I.	ii.	—	174.
Mar. ?	The opinion of some bishops concerning the king's supremacy	I.	iii.	10.	177.
Mar. ?	Injunctions given by Latimer to the prior of St. Mary's	II.	ii.	23.	293.
Apr. 25.	A letter giving Pace an account of propositions made to king Henry by Charles V.	III.	iii.	50.	114.
May 2.	A letter of Pole's to Cromwell, justifying himself	III.	iii.	53.	125.
Nov. 13.	A consolatory letter to Henry the Eighth, from the bishop of Durham, after the death of queen Jane	III.	iii.	56.	132.
?	Addenda 2. Some queries put by Cranmer, in order to the correcting of several abuses	I.	iii.	—	316.
?	Addenda 3. Some queries concerning confirmation, with the answers that were given to them by Cranmer and Stokesley bishop of London	I.	iii.	—	319.
?	Addenda 4. Some considerations offered to the king by Cranmer, to induce him to proceed to a further reformation	I.	iii.	—	320.

1538.

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Feb. ?	Addenda 5. A declaration made by some bishops and divines, concerning the functions and divine institution of bishops and priests	I.	iii.	—	321.
Mar. 23.	A letter from Cromwell to Shaxton bishop of Sarum	I.	iii.	8.	163.
Mar. ?	A letter to Bullinger, from one of Maidstone; giving an account of an image, which seems to be the rood of Boxley in Kent	III.	iii.	55.	131.
June ?	Injunctions made by archbishop Cranmer	I.	iii.	12.	182.
June ?	Injunctions given by Edward, archbishop of York, to be observed within the diocese of York, by all the clergy of the same, and others whom the said injunctions do concern	III.	iii.	57.	135.
June ?	Injunctions given by the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, throughout his diocese	III.	iii.	58.	140.
June ?	Injunctions given by the bishop of Salisbury, throughout his diocese	III.	iii.	59.	143.
Aug. 5.	Addenda 7. A letter written by the German ambassadors to the king, against the taking away of the chalice, and against private masses, and the celibate of the clergy	I.	iii.	—	332.
Aug. 15.	Addenda 8. The king's answer to the former letter	I.	iii.	—	396.
Aug. 23.	Cranmer's letter to Cromwell, complaining of the ill treatment of the ambassadors from Germany	III.	iii.	48.	112.
Sept. ?	Injunctions to the clergy made by Cromwell	I.	iii.	11.	178.
Nov. 16.	A part of a proclamation, chiefly concerning Becket	III.	iii.	62.	150.
Dec. 17.	The sentence given out by pope Paul the Third against king Henry	I.	iii.	9.	166.
Dec. ?	An original letter of the king's, much to the same purpose [with the proclamation concerning Becket]	III.	iii.	63.	152.
	The petition of Gresham, lord mayor of London, to the king, for the city hospitals	III.	iii.	61.	149.

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Apr. 1.	Addenda 6. A letter of Melancthon's to persuade the king to a further reformation	I.	iii.	—	329.
May ?	Addenda 10. Arguments given by Tunstall to the king, to prove auricular confession to be of divine institution; with some notes on the margin written with the king's own hand	I.	iii.	—	363.
May ?	Addenda 11. A letter of the king's to Tunstall, in answer to the former paper	I.	iii.	—	366.
Sept. 22.	A letter of the visitors sent to examine the abbot of Glastonbury	III.	iii.	67.	160.
Nov. 12.	The commission by which Bonner held his bishopric of the king	I.	iii.	14.	184.
Nov. 14.	The king's letters patent for printing the Bible in English	I.	iii.	15.	186.
Nov. 29.	The design for the endowment of Christ Church in Canterbury	III.	iii.	64.	156.
Nov. 29.	A letter of the archbishop of Canterbury to Cromwell, upon the new foundation at Canterbury	III.	iii.	65.	157.
?	Addenda 12. A definition of the catholic church, corrected with the king's own hand	I.	iii.	—	368.

1540.

May ?	Dr. Barnes' renunciation of some articles informed against him	I.	iii.	22.	244.
June 29.	The attainder of Thomas Cromwell	I.	iii.	16.	187.
June 30.	Cromwell's letter to the king concerning his marriage with Anne of Cleves	I.	iii.	17.	193.
July 7.	The king's own declaration about it	I.	iii.	18.	197.
July 9.	The judgment of the convocation annulling it	I.	iii.	19.	197.
July 17.	Anne of Cleves' letter to her brother	I.	iii.	20.	200.
July 17.	Cromwell's letter to the king, when he was committed to the Tower	III.	iii.	68.	161.
Oct. ?	The resolutions of several bishops and divines concerning the sacraments	I.	iii.	21.	201.
Oct. ?	Questions concerning the sacraments	III.	iii.	69.	164.

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Date.	Title of Record.	Part.	Book.	No.	Page.
Oct. ?	An Answer to the former queries; with some remarks on them, in the king's hand, written on the margin ..	III.	iii.	70.	167.
Oct. ?	Answers to these queries	III.	iii.	71.	169.
Dec. 17.	The foundation of the bishopric of Westminster	I.	iii.	23.	246.

1541.

May 6.	A proclamation for the English Bible to be set up in all churches	I.	iii.	24.	250.
June ?	An admonition set up by Bonner for all that came to read the Bible ..	I.	iii.	25.	251.
July ?	A part of a letter concerning the debates of the six articles in the house of lords	III.	iii.	66.	159.
Nov. ?	The examination of queen Catharine Howard	III.	iii.	72.	171.

1542.

Apr. 22.	A letter of sir W. Paget's, of his treating with the admiral of France ..	III.	iii.	73.	173.
May ?	Injunctions given by Bonner to his clergy.....	I.	iii.	26.	252.
May ?	An omission in Bonner's injunctions, 1st vol. Hist. Reform., Coll. of Rec., p. 252.	III.	iii.	60.	148.

1543.

Jan. 31.	A letter of Martin Bucer's to Gropper	II.	i.	19.	121.
?	A collection of passages out of the Canon Law made by Cranmer, to shew the necessity of reforming it	I.	iii.	27.	257.

1544.

Jan. 30.	A bull, making cardinal Beaton legate *a latere* in Scotland	II.	ii.	17.	271.
June 11.	A mandate for publishing and using the prayers in the English tongue....	I.	iii.	28.	264.

1545.

?	Injunctions for a visitation of chantries	II.	i.	27.	152.

1546.

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Jan. 24.	A letter of Cranmer's to king Henry, concerning a further reformation, and against sacrilege	II.	i.	61.	236.
Mar. ?	Articles subscribed by Shaxton, the late bishop of Sarum	I.	iii.	29.	265.
Dec. 25.	Bishop Thirlby's letter, concerning the duke of Norfolk and his son	III.	iii.	74.	187.
Dec. ?	A letter of the duke of Norfolk's, after he had been examined in the Tower	III.	iii.	75.	189.

1547.

Feb. 7.	The commission taken out by archbishop Cranmer	II.	i.	2.	90.
Feb. 12.	The council's letter to the justices of peace	II.	i.	3.	92.
Feb. 13.	The order for the coronation of king Edward	II.	i.	4.	93.
Mar. 6.	The commission for which the lord chancellor was deprived of his office; with the opinion of the judges about it	II.	i.	5.	96.
Mar. 12.	The duke of Somerset's commission to be protector	II.	i.	6.	98.
May 4.	The king's letter to the archbishop of York concerning the visitation	II.	i.	7.	103.
May 26.	Articles and instructions annexed to the commission for taking the surrender of the cathedral of Norwich	III.	iv.	12.	208.
May 26.	Letter of the council to the dean and chapter of Norwich	III.	iv.	12.	208.
Sept. 12.	Bonner's protestation, with his submission	II.	i.	12.	112.
Oct. 14.	The conclusion of Gardiner's letter to the protector against the lawfulness of the Injunctions	II.	i.	14.	114.
Oct. ?	The oath given to the Scots who submitted to the protector	II.	i.	11.	111.
Nov. 22.	Petitions made by the lower house of convocation	II.	i.	16.	117.
Dec. 5.	Gardiner's letter concerning the Injunctions	II.	i.	13.	112.

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Dec. 9.	A second petition to the same purpose [with that of Nov. 22]	II.	i.	17.	118.

1548.

Jan. ?	Questions and answers concerning the divorce of the marquis of Northampton	II.	i.	20.	125.
Jan. ?	Questions concerning some abuses in the mass, with the answers made by some bishops and divines to them....	II.	i.	25.	133.
Feb. 6.	A proclamation against innovations without the king's authority	II.	i.	22.	128.
Feb. 21.	An order of council for the removing of images	II.	i.	23.	129.
May 23.	A letter, with directions sent to all preachers	II.	i.	24.	130.
June 28.	The protector's letter to Gardiner, concerning the points that he was to handle in his sermon.....	II.	i.	28.	154.
July 18.	A letter of Christopher Mont's, concerning the Interim	III.	iv.	3.	195.
July 31.	*Elizabeth's letter to the queen*	I.	iii.	—	209.
Oct. 15.	A letter of bishop Tunstall's, proving the subjection of the crown of Scotland to the king of England	II.	i.	9.	106.
?	Injunctions given in king Edward's time to the deanery of Doncaster	II.	i.	21.	126.
?	Dr. Redmayn's opinion of the marriage of the clergy	II.	i.	30.	157.
?	The king's preface to some scriptures against idolatry	II.	—	—	68.

1549.

Jan. ?	Articles of treason against the admiral	II.	i.	31.	158.
Mar. 17.	The warrant for the admiral's execution.....	II.	i.	32.	164.
Apr. 26.	A part of a letter of Hooper's to Bullinger, giving an account of the cruelty of the Spaniards in the Netherlands	III.	iv.	4.	196.
Apr. 30.	The sentence against Joan of Kent	II.	i.	35.	167.

1549.

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June 1.	Ridley's letter to the protector, concerning the visitation of the university of Cambridge	II.	i.	59.	232.
June 2.	Instructions to sir W. Paget, sent to the emperor	II.	i.	38.	171.
June 10.	The protector's answer to the former letter [of June 1]	II.	i.	60.	234.
June 17.	Promise made by Henry the Second, king of France, before queen Mary was sent out of Scotland	III.	vi.	66.	305.
June ?	A letter of Paget's to the protector	II.	i.	39.	173.
June ?	A letter of the protector's to the lady Mary, justifying the reformation	II.	i.	15.	115.
July 20.	The lady Mary's letter to the lord protector, and to the rest of the king's majesty's council, upon their suspecting that some of her household had encouraged the Devonshire rebellion	III.	iv.	2.	194.
July 24.	Another letter of Paget's to the protector	II.	i.	40.	177.
Aug. 24.	A letter of the protector's to sir Philip Hobby, of the rebellions at home	II.	i.	36.	169.
Oct. 7.	The council's letter to the king against the protector	II.	i.	41.	183.
Oct. 8.	The protector's submission	II.	i.	42.	184.
Oct. 9.	A letter from the council to the king	II.	i.	43.	185.
Oct. 9.	A letter writ by the council to Cranmer and Paget	II.	i.	44.	187.
Oct. 10.	Cranmer and Paget's answer	II.	i.	45.	188.
Oct. ?	Articles objected to the duke of Somerset	II.	i.	46.	189.
Nov. 1.	A letter of Bonner's after his deprivation	II.	i.	37.	170.
Dec. 25.	A letter of the council's to the bishops, assuring them that the king intended to go forward in the reformation	II.	i.	47.	191.
?	Articles for the king's visitors	II.	i.	33.	165.

1550.

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Jan. 21.	Instructions given to the lord Russel, and others, concerning the delivery of Boulogne to the French	II.	i.	49.	198.
Mar. ?	Other instructions sent to them	II.	i.	50.	201.
Mar. ?	A discourse concerning the reformation of divers abuses	II.	—	—	69.
June 1.	A letter of Peter Martyr's to Bullinger, of the state of the university of Oxford, in the year 1550	III.	iv.	6.	199.
June ?	Injunctions given by bishop Ridley	II.	i.	52.	205.
July 24.	The patents for the German congregation	II.	i.	51.	202.

1551.

Jan. ?	Oglethorp's submission and profession of his faith	II.	i.	53.	207.
May 6.	*Letter of the council to the bishop of Exeter*	III.	iv.	—	210.
July 18.	*Another letter of the council to the bishop of Exeter*	III.	iv.	—	210.
July 25.	A letter of Ridley's, setting out the sins of that time	II.	i.	58.	231.
	A reformation of the order of the Garter, translated into Latin by the king	II.	—	—	73.

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May 9.	A paper concerning a free mart in England	II.	—	—	78.
Sept. 23.	The method in which the council represented matters of state to the king	II.	—	—	82.
Sept. 24.	Instructions to sir Richard Morison, sent to the emperor	II.	i.	57.	229.
Nov. 30.	The journal of king Edward's reign	II.	—	—	1.
?	Articles of religion set out by the king's authority	II.	i.	55.	209.

1553.

Jan. 15.	Articles for the regulation of the privy council	II.	—	—	84.
June 1.	The mandate of the visitors of the university of Cambridge, to the same purpose [i. e. subscription to the Articles]	III.	iv.	9.	205.

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Croque, M. de, II. 651.

Crosier-staff ordered to be worshipped with *latria* in the Roman pontifical, II. 154.

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Crossed friars in London, prior of, I. 384.

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Crowley, —, one of the disputants in the convocation of 1562 on certain proposed alterations in divine service, III. ii. 481. voted for them, 482.

Croxton (and Hornby), abbey of, Leicestershire, Premonstratensians, surrendered, I. ii. 237.

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Culpepper, —, II. ii. 41. III. ii. 252. executed for having had connection with queen Catharine Howard, I. 494.

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Dakins, —, concerned in the translation of the Bible, temp. king James I, II. ii. 560.
Dale, abbey of, Derbyshire, Premonstratensians, surrendered, I. ii. 241.
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Dampier, captain, III. 491.
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Day, John, printer, II. 457.

Day, William, provost of Eton, afterwards bishop of Winchester, preached before the convocation of 1561, III. 511. voted in the convocation of 1562 for certain alterations in divine service, ii. 482.

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Deering, Richard, how far concerned in the business about the Maid of Kent, I. 249, 250. attainted of high treason, 251. executed, 252.

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De-la-Pre, convent of St. Mary, Northamptonshire, Cluniac nuns, new founded and preserved from the dissolution of lesser monasteries, I. ii. 228. surrendered, 244.

Delaware, Thomas West lord, sat on the trial of queen Anne Boleyn and lord Rochford, I. 323.

Delycres, see *Dieulacres.*

Denley, —, burnt for heresy, temp. queen Mary, II. 509.

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Denmark, king of, 1542, see *Christian III;* 1561, see *Frederic II.*
Denney, convent of St. Clare, Cambridgeshire, Franciscan nuns, new founded and preserved from the dissolution of lesser monasteries, I. ii. 227.
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Denton, Thomas, he and others ordered by Henry VIII to make a full project of a seminary for ministers of state, I. 431.
De Pre, abbey of, St. Mary, Leicester, Austin canons, surrendered, I. ii. 248.
Deptford, in Kent, prioress of, I. 255. ii. 204.
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Derby, abbey of, Dominicans, surrendered, I. ii. 244.
Derby, Edward Stanley earl of, II. 503. assisted against the rebels of the north, I. 366. sat on the trial of queen Anne Boleyn and lord Rochford, 323. protested in parliament against the act confirming the new liturgy, II. 176; and from the act for the destruction of the old service-books, 250. sat on the trial of the duke of Somerset, 306. ii. 57. dissented in parliament from the act for bringing men to divine service, II. 321; and from the act for the marriage of the clergy, 324; and from the act confirming the marquis of Northampton's marriage, 325; and from a bill against simony, 327. one of queen Elizabeth's first privy council, 597. a papist, *ibid.* one of the high commission for the northern parts, 634. ii. 534.
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Devonshire, insurrection in, II. 209. ii. 8. Arundel, their chief, II. 239. lord Russell sent against them, *ibid.* their de-

mands, *ibid.* Cranmer's answer to them, 210. they make new demands, 212. which are also rejected, *ibid.* they besiege Exeter, 214. the town relieved, and the rebels defeated by lord Russell, 215.

Dewport, Dr., concerned in the translation of the Bible, temp. king James I, II. ii. 560.

Diana, see *Poitiers.*

Dieulacres, abbey of, Staffordshire, Cistercians, surrendered, I. ii. 249.

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Dillingen, town of, belonged to the cardinal of Augsburg, II. 417.

Dillingham, —, concerned in the translation of the Bible, temp. king James I, II. ii. 559.

Dimock, sir John, his appearance as champion at Edward VI's coronation dinner, II. ii. 5.

Dingley, Thomas, knight of St. John of Jerusalem, attainted, I. 565. executed, *ibid.*

Dionysius, II. ii. 207, 213, 217, 536. the scholar of St. Paul, first planted christianity in France, 519.

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Doke, Richard, archdeacon of Sarum, signed as a member of convocation the articles of 1536, I. ii. 288.

Dominic, I. 57.

Dominical, the linen cloth in which women received the sacramental elements, so called, II. 150.

Dominicans, some advised that the inquisition, which was rigorously exercised in Spain, should be set up in England, II. 555.

Donatists, the imperial laws against heretics enforced against them, I. 56, 57.

Donatus, II. 227.

Doncaster, abbeys of, Yorkshire, Carmelites, surrendered, I. ii. 242.

Dondalus, Sigismund, an advocate employed at Rome by Henry VIII about his divorce, III. 153.

Donington, order of the Trinity, Berkshire, surrendered, I. ii. 243.

Donkeswell, abbey of, Devonshire, Cistercians, surrendered, I. ii. 246.

Doria, Andrew, II. ii. 38. took a city in Africa from the pirate Draguntia, 25. unsuccessful in his attempt against another, 27.
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Douglas, Archibald duke of, III. 550.
Douglas, James lord, signed the letter to the pope about the independence of Scotland, II. ii. 157.
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Dover, abbey of, Benedictines, surrendered to Henry VIII, I. 307. ii. 232.
Dover, appointed for the see of a suffragan bishop, I. 259.
Dover, suffragan of, see *Thornton, R.*
Downes, —, concerned in the translation of the Bible, temp. king James I, II. ii. 560.
Downes, Galfridus, one of those appointed by the university of Cambridge to answer in its name the question relative to Henry VIII's first marriage, I. ii. 132. III. ii. 30. signed a declaration of the functions and divine institution of bishops and priests, I. ii. 340.
Downham, William, made bishop of Chester, II. 639.
Doyle, Thomas, assisted at the ceremony of consecrating archbishop Parker, II. ii. 556.
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Drakes, Robert, a priest, burnt for heresy, temp. queen Mary, II. 540.
Draycot, Dr., chaplain and chancellor to bishop Longland, I. 77.
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Dudley, sir Ambrose, brother to the earl of Warwick, II. 84. sent by the protector Somerset to take Broughty castle in the Scotch war, *ibid.* defends it against the Scotch, ii. 6. Lutterell succeeded him as captain, 7. captures a Scotch ship, 5.
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Dudley, sir Edward, left in command of Home castle, II. 85.
Duffus, William Sutherland lord, III. 550.
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Julius III, pope, as cardinal Monte, I. 94, 109, 204. ii. 40, 42, 70, 177, 178, 181, 182, 187. III. 163. ii. 47, 48, 49. as pope, II. 419, 496. ii. 43, 611. III. 349, 401, 402, 403, 407, 409, 425, 426, 430. ii. 3, 317, 342, 344, 361, 367, 379. (as cardinal), bribed over to support Henry VIII's divorce, I. 203. chosen pope, II. 257. styled Julius III, *ibid.* his strange conduct at his election, *ibid.* his claim respecting Parma, II. ii. 38. cause of the war between him and the king of France, II. 318. queen Mary writes to him about being reconciled to the see of Rome, 415. his rejoicings, 416. his breve to cardinal Pole for reconciling England to the church of Rome, III. ii. 322. another, empowering him to execute his faculties with relation to England, while he yet remained beyond sea, 330. another, containing more special powers, relating to the abbey lands, 332. erects Ireland into a kingdom, and confers the title of queen on queen Mary, III. 425. his bull about restoring church lands, *ibid.* reflections upon it, 426. his death, II. 496.

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Justices of the peace, a commission of, issued, II. 51. copy of that for Norfolk, ii. 130.

Justification, article of 1536 about, I. 345. ii. 280. explanation of justification in the *Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man*, I. 464, 465.

Justin Martyr, II. 199, 269, 453, 618. ii. 507, 511.

Justin I, ordered the tongue of Severus to be cut out for anathematizing the council of Chalcedon, I. 57.

Justinian, emperor, II. 9, 121, 332. II. ii. 513. added many novel constitutions about ecclesiastical persons and causes when he digested the Roman law, I. 235.

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Juxon, —, burnt for heresy, temp. queen Mary, II. 509.

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Kampsell, see *Camsele.*

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Katharine (Catharine) of Arragon, I. 8, 106, 172, 226, 241, 250, 329, 390, 449, 579, 581. ii. 61, 136, 147, 319, 320, 546, 560, 562, 569. II. ii. 363, 364, 370. III. 104, 105, 106, 111, 113, 115, 137, 138, 151, 152, 153, 164, 178, 199, 200, 214, 221, 226. ii. 43, 59, 74, 88, 122, 124. (as princess dowager, III. 194. ii. 105.) married to prince Arthur, son of Henry VII of England, I. 67. his death, *ibid.* the bull of pope Julius II allowing her to marry his brother (afterwards Henry VIII), 74. ii. 15. Henry's protest against the

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pressed too much joy at it, *ibid.* her character, *ibid.* her letter to the lady Mary her daughter, II. 387. ii. 363. her marriage with Henry VIII confirmed by act of parliament under queen Mary, II. 408. her life written by W. Forest, I. 571.
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Keilway, —, I. 38, 45. a lawyer of good reputation, and surveyor of the court of wards in the reign of queen Elizabeth, 47.
Keith, Robert de, marshal of Scotland, signed the letter to the pope about the independence of that kingdom, II. ii. 157.
Kempe, John, archbishop of York, I. 188. ii. 159. wrote to pope Martin V in behalf of archbishop Chichely, I. 188.
Kempe, Thomas, bishop of London, I. 62.
Kempe, —, voted in the convocation of 1562 for certain alterations in divine service, III. ii. 482.
Kempis, Thomas à, author of *The Life of Christ*, II. 387.
Kenall, —, voted in the convocation of 1562 against certain alterations in divine service, III. ii. 482.
Kenilworth, abbey of, Warwickshire, Austin canons, surrendered, I. ii. 234.
Kenmure family, III. 550.
Kennedy, —, burnt for heresy in Scotland, I. 491.
Kennet, White, bishop of Peterborough, III. 147, 449. ii. 36.
Kent, Joan of, see *Bocher.*
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Kentwyne, William, monk of Glastonbury, II. ii. 463.
Kenulph, king of Mercia, founded the monastery of Abingdon, exempting it from episcopal jurisdiction, I. 301.
Kers, Scotch family of, slew the lord of Balcleugh, II. ii. 90. what was done with them, *ibid.*
Kett, Robert, II. 225. ii. 250. III. 427. a tanner, headed the rebellion in Norfolk, II. 213. he and his brother taken and hanged in chains at Norwich, 215. ii. 10.
Keynsham, abbey of, Somersetshire, Austin canons, surrendered, I. ii. 245.
Keys, Martin, I. ii. 538. the king's groom-porter, marries lady Mary Grey, II. 368. ii. 604.
Keyser, —, I. 62.
Kilbye, Dr., concerned in the translation of the Bible temp. king James, II. ii. 559.
Kildare, earl of, I. ii. 572.
Killigrewe, Henry, I. ii. 538.
Killore, —, a friar, burnt for heresy in Scotland, I. 490.
Kilmainham, Ireland, the Hospitallers' house there suppressed, I. 440.
Kilmarnock, earl of, III. 550.
Kilwinning, commendator of, signed the bond of association with England, III. 492. and the instructions for an embassy to queen Elizabeth, 506.
King, ground of the claims of the popes and emperors to confer this title, II. 342.
King of England, 1509, see *Henry VIII;* 1547, see *Edward VI;* 1681, see *Charles II;* 1715, see *George I.*
King, Robert, abbot of Osney, I. ii. 252. suffragan bishop, I. 260. had the title of *episcopus Roanansis*, ii. 252. was afterwards bishop of Oxford, *ibid.*
King, —, concerned in the trans-

lation of the Bible, temp. king James I, II. ii. 559.
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Kingsale, in Ireland, the baron of, lord Courcy, allowed to cover his head in the presence of the king, II. 405. the like honour enjoyed by his posterity, *ibid.*
Kingsmell, Richard, in the high commission for the province of York, II. ii. 533.
Kingstead, abbot of, tried as a rebel, I. 560. executed, *ibid.*
Kingston, lady, III. ii. 277.
Kingston, sir Anthony, cited to appear before bishop Hooper for adultery, III. 365. beats him, *ibid.* fined, *ibid.* sent to the Tower for his behaviour in the house of commons, II. 520. asked pardon and was discharged, 521. a fresh charge against him, of a design to rob the exchequer of £50,000, and with it to have made a rebellion, *ibid.* died on his way to London, *ibid.*
Kingston, sir William, I. 317. his letter about queen Anne Boleyn's behaviour before her death, 327. lieutenant of the Tower, *ibid.* not lieutenant, but constable, 142 *note.*
Kingswood, abbey of, Wiltshire, Cistercians, surrendered, I. ii. 233.
Kinloss, abbot of, signed the bond of association with England, III. 492.
Kircaldy, —, of the Grange, gained over by Henry VIII to his interest, III. 286.
Kircaldy, sir James, II. 44.
Kircudbright family, III. 550.
Kirkham, abbey of, Yorkshire, Austin canons, surrendered, I. ii. 243.
Kirklees [or Kirkleghes], Yorkshire, Cistercian nunnery, surrendered, I. ii. 256.
Kirkleghes, see *Kirklees.*
Kirkstall, monastery of, Yorkshire, Cistercians, surrendered, I. ii. 256.
Kitchin, alias Dunstan, Anthony, II. 639. ii. 612. as abbot of Eynsham signed as a member of convocation the articles of 1536, I. ii. 287. made bishop of Llandaff, I. 524. turned with every change of religion, *ibid.* dissented in parliament from the act allowing the clergy to marry, II. 168. tried and condemned Rawlins White, a fisherman, for heresy, 494. not present at, nor sent his proxy to, the convocation of 1559, III. 471. in two commissions to deprive certain bishops who favoured the reformation, II. 440. ii. 386, 388. protested in parliament against the bill for restitution of the firstfruits and tenths and all impropriated benefices to the crown, II. 608. against that annexing the supremacy to the crown again, 610. and against the bill that the queen should have the nomination of bishops, *ibid.* the only one of queen Mary's bishops who took the oath of supremacy to queen Elizabeth, 627. in the warrant to consecrate archbishop Parker, 637.
Kite, John, bishop of Carlisle, III. 197. ii. 114. approved of Henry VIII's scruples about his first marriage, III. 108. present at the convocation of 1534, I. 239. opposed the reformation, 343.
Knevet, —, concerned in Wiat's rebellion, II. 432. routed, *ibid.*
Knight, Stephen, burnt for he-

resy temp. queen Mary, II. 493.
Knight, William, secretary of state, and bishop of Bath and Wells, I. 112, 113. ii. 553. II. 602. III. 107. as archdeacon of Chester signed as a member of convocation the articles of 1536, I. ii. 289. sent by Henry VIII to Rome about his divorce, I. 89. his negotiations, 92. his letters to Wolsey on the subject, ii. 34, 40. and to the king, 37. sent ambassador to Rome to condole with the pope, III. 105.
Knolles, sir Francis, II. ii. 529. III. 500. a defendant at a tilt and tournay, II. ii. 60, 62. one of queen Elizabeth's first privy council, II. 597. of the reformed religion, *ibid.*
Knoules, Henry, II. ii. 93.
Knox, John, II. 375. III. 370, 488. ii. 414, 417, 526. one of Edward VI's six chaplains, II. 294. he and his party secede from the English refugees at Frankfort about the use of the English Liturgy, and remove to Geneva, 544. his writing indecently against the emperor also obliged him to depart, *ibid.* accused of treason against the emperor, his son, and the queen of England, III. ii. 544. penned the Scotch confession of faith, II. 654. which agrees in most things with the Geneva confession, *ibid.* his success in Scotland, III. 476. effected the reformation in Scotland without bloodshed, 482. expelled Scotland, ii. 539, 541.
Knut [or Canute], founded the monastery of St. Edmundsbury, exempting it from episcopal jurisdiction, I. 301.
Knyvet, sir Henry, I. ii. 578. II. 284. III. 295. ii. 275. sent on an embassy to the emperor Charles V, I. 401.
Kyderminster, Richard, abbot of Winchcombe, opposed the restriction of the *benefit of clergy*, I. 39. and argued the point in a hearing before Henry VIII against Dr. Standish, 40. sent by Henry VIII to attend the council in the Lateran called by Julius II, 49.
Kyme, abbey of, Lincolnshire, Austin canons, new founded and preserved from the dissolution of lesser monasteries, I. ii. 227. surrendered, 250.
Kyme, Ralph, prior of, signed as a member of convocation the articles of 1536, I. ii. 287.
Kyme, —, married Anne Askew, I. 536. drove her out of his house for favouring the reformation, *ibid.*

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Lacock, convent of St. Mary, Wiltshire, Austin nuns, new founded and preserved from the dissolution of lesser monasteries, I. ii. 228. surrendered, 245.
Lainge, Walter, I. 487.
Lambard, William, I. 255.
Lambert, —, II. ii. 21.
Lambert, alias Nicolson, John, II. 141, 205, 402, 532. III. 133. some account of him, I. 402. brought before Cranmer and Latimer for his notions respecting the sacrament, *ibid.* appeals to the king, *ibid.* publicly tried before him, 403. arguments brought against him, *ibid.* condemned, 404. burnt, 405. a learned and good man, *ibid.*

Lambeth library, I. 458. II. ii. 538, 539, 542, 543, 549, 550, 551, 553, 554, 557, 594.
Lancaster, duke of, a favourer of Wickliffe, I. 55.
Lancaster, Just., voted in the convocation of 1562 against certain alterations in divine service, III. ii. 482.
Lancaster, Thomas, voted in the convocation of 1562 for certain alterations in divine service, III. ii. 481.
Lands, see *Enclosures.*
Lane, Erasmus, fellow of Corpus Christi college, Cambridge, certified a true and genuine record of archbishop Parker's consecration, II. ii. 517.
Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, with what limitations he imposed celibacy on the clergy, II. 172.
Langdale, Alban, disputed at Cambridge upon Christ's presence in the sacrament, II. 196. one of the popish disputants at the conference at Westminster, 615.
Langdon, abbey of, Premonstratensians, surrendered to Henry VIII, I. 307. ii. 223, 232.
Langey, M. de, treasurer to the emperor, II. ii. 92.
Langey, sieur de, see *Bellay.*
Langley, Thomas, bishop of Durham, wrote to pope Martin V in favour of archbishop Chichely, I. 188.
Langley Regis, convent of, Dominicans, I. 254. ii. 202. their subscription to the oath of succession and the king's supremacy, 204.
Langres, bishop of, III. 69. ii. 64.
Lansac, M. de, French ambassador, II. ii. 30, 33.
Lanthony, abbey of, Gloucestershire, Austin canons, surrendered, I. ii. 234.
Lanthony, abbot of, see *Hempsted, R.*
Laodicea, council of, III. ii. 491, 498. made a canon against the popular election of the clergy, II. 98. appointed the same office of prayers to be used in the mornings and evenings, 143.
Lascelles, John, discovered to Cranmer the incontinency and ill life of the queen (C. Howard), I. 493. probably the same person that was burnt as a heretic, 537.
Lasco, John à, II. 268. ii. 305. III. 354. ii. 293, 499. superintendent of the German church in London, II. 268. ii. 307. intermeddled with the disputes in the English church, II. 268. in a commission to revise the ecclesiastical laws, ii. 64. III. 363. in another to revise the revisions of the ecclesiastical laws, II. 332. he and his congregation ordered to leave England on queen Mary's accession, 402. not admitted into Denmark nor into certain towns in Germany, *ibid.* settled in Friesland, *ibid.*
Lateran, fourth council of, I. 577. III. 71, 72. summoned by Julius II chiefly against Louis XII, 63. the pragmatic sanction condemned in it, and why, *ibid.* 64. delivered over heretics to the secular power to be extirpated, I. 57. its threats against the secular power in case of non-compliance, *ibid.* decreed that bishops who lived in places where they were mixed with Greeks should provide fit priests for performing divine offices according to the rites and

language of those to whom they ministered, II. 148. established the notion of the corporal presence, 201. the rooting out of heretics and the pope's power of deposing heretical princes decreed by the same council, *ibid.* 591, 592. *See Council.*
Latimer, Hugh, I. 70, 267, 378, 379. ii. 139. II. 114, 207, 311, 375, 456. ii. 240, 597. III. 132, 147, 168, 386, 395, 396, 432. ii. 403. as bishop of Worcester, II. 128. chaplain to queen Anne Boleyn, I. 280. obtained the bishopric of Worcester through her, *ibid.* favoured Henry VIII's divorce, 151. one of those appointed by the university of Cambridge to answer in its name the question relative to Henry VIII's first marriage, III. ii. 30–34. accused of heresy, I. 271. excommunicated by convocation, III. 165. signs certain articles, 165. I. 271. appeals to the king, III. 165. who remitted him to archbishop Warham, 166. and upon his submission was received to the sacraments, *ibid.* preached the Latin sermon at the opening of the convocation of 1536, I. 340. signed as a member of convocation the articles of 1536, ii. 286. and the judgment of certain bishops concerning the king's supremacy, 335. and a declaration of the functions and institution of bishops and priests, 340. his style of preaching, I. 340. supported the reformation zealously and simply, *ibid.* 343. entertained the Lutheran notion of the sacrament, 402. his simplicity and weakness made him be despised, 409. one of a committee named by the house of lords to draw up articles of religion, 411. his instructions at a visitation of the convent of Worcester, II. ii. 442. studied to persuade Forrest to recant, I. 562. opposed the six articles in parliament, III. 355. ii. 233. forbidden by the king to preach, III. 266. the good effects of his preaching, 340. resigns his see in consequence of the six articles, I. 395, 426. II. ii. 588. imprisoned for having spoken against them, I. 427. discharged from prison on Edward VI's accession, II. 70. lived privately, and employed himself at preaching, *ibid.* kept at Lambeth by Cranmer, *ibid.* the house of commons send the protector an address to restore him to his bishopric, 178. ii. 598. he preferred to go about and preach, II. 179. his advice to the king concerning his marriage, 264. a judge on the trial of Joan of Kent, ii. 246. in a commission to revise the ecclesiastical laws, III. 363. sent to the Tower, init. queen Mary, II. 401. III. 386. sent to Oxford to dispute concerning the sacrament, II. 451. never accounted very learned, but had served the reformation by his preaching, *ibid.* disputes, 455. his declaration on refusing to subscribe, 456. a special commission to proceed against him and Ridley for heresy, 510, 511. his saying to Ridley at the point of death, 512. suffered martyrdom, 70, 513. III. 478. his character, 513. unmarried, ii. 596.
Latimer, John Nevil lord, married Catharine Parr, I. 514.
Latimer, John Nevil lord, son of the preceding, one of the

peers on the duke of Somerset's trial, II. 306. ii. 57.
Latimer, William, II. 220, 222.
Latymer, —, voted in the convocation of 1562 against certain alterations in divine service, III. ii. 482.
Lauder, fortified by the English, II. 157. besieged by the Scots, 230.
Lauder, Henry, advocate of Scotland, one the council to assist the earl of Arran, governor of Scotland, III. 479.
Lauderdale, John Maitland, duke of, III. 489.
Launceston, abbey of, Cornwall, Austin canons, surrendered, I. ii. 246.
Launder, John, burnt for heresy temp. queen Mary, II. 506.
Laurea, cardinal, his Life written by the abbot of Pignerol, III. 544. sent by pope Pius V as his nuncio into Scotland, *ibid.* had been bishop of Mondovi, 545.
Laurence, —, contended that popes could do nothing against the laws of the church, I. 233. succeeded Austin in the see of Canterbury, I. 174. excommunicated king Edbald for an incestuous marriage, *ibid.* would not absolve him at the entreaties or threatenings of the pope till he put away his wife, *ibid.* this statement contradicted, *ibid.*
Laurence, Robert, prior of Beauvale, executed for saying, *That the king (Henry VIII) was not supreme head under Christ of the church of England*, I. 552.
Laurence, Thomas, concerned in the affair of the Maid of Kent, I. 250. judged guilty of misprision of treason, 251.
Laurence, Thomas, prior of Axholm, I. 552.
Laurence, Thomas, prior of Exham, I. 552.
Lausania, Jacobus de, determined that a man might not marry his brother's wife, I. 171.
L'Ausbespine, M. de, secretary to Henry II of France, II. ii. 65. III. ii. 461.
Lautrec, M. de, I. 93. ii. 32, 36, 39, 42. III. ii. 20.
Lavater, Ludolph, III. 467. ii. 404, 406, 409, 414, 501, 517, 519, 521.
Laverock, —, an old cripple, burnt for heresy temp. queen Mary, II. 541.
Law, common and statute, a bill for digesting both into a body, in imitation of the Roman law, passed the house of commons, but thrown out in the lords, II. 181.
Laws of the Roman emperors against heretics, I. 56. of England against the same, 58.
Lawrence, John, II. 457. a priest, burnt for heresy temp. queen Mary, 493.
Lawrence, see *Wardeboys.*
Lawson, George, chaplain to Henry VIII, III. 197.
Lawson, sir George, III. ii. 112, 113.
Layton, Dr. Edward, I. ii. 413. III. 274. ii. 245. his resolutions of some questions respecting sacraments, I. ii. 445–467. bishops and priests, 470–486. confession, 488, 490. excommunication, 492, 493, 494. and extreme unction, 495, 496. appointed prebendary of Westminster, I. ii. 503.
Layton, Dr. Richard, I. 307. ii. 569. III. 241. archdeacon of Buckingham, signed as a member of convocation the articles of 1536, I. ii. 289. had been in Wolsey's service with Crom-

well, I. 298. and in consequence employed afterwards by Cromwell, *ibid.* advised a visitation of all monasteries, *ibid.* one of the visitors, 296. account of his and Dr. Lee's visitation at York, III. ii. 134. one of the visitors of Glastonbury, III. 259. ii. 236. the northern rebels demand his imprisonment for bribery and extortion in visiting the monasteries, I. 369. dean of York, one of the committee appointed by convocation to examine the king's marriage with Anne of Cleves, 447. employed to search out the conspiracy against archbishop Cranmer, 518.

Leafe, see *Lease.*

League, see *Clementine League.*

Lease [or Leafe], John, an apprentice, burnt for heresy temp. queen Mary, II. 504.

Leaver, —, voted in the convocation of 1562 for certain alterations in divine service, III. ii. 481.

Lechmore, Richard, II. 228, 399. ii. 373.

Lechmore, Roger, II. ii. 373.

Lechmore, —, senior bencher of the Middle Temple, II. 228.

Leciter, sir Richard, lord chief justice temp. Edward VI. See *Lister.*

Lectures, see *Sermons.*

Ledington, see *Lethington.*

Lee, —, a servant of queen Mary, II. 415. procures Commendone an audience with her, *ibid.*

Lee, Edward, archbishop of York, I. 215, 226, 294, 325, 481. ii. 431, 560. II. ii. 602. III. 273. ii. 77, 134, 167. sent ambassador to Spain about Francis I's release, III. 100, 103. suspected of favouring the pope, 196, 205. his vindication of himself, 196, 208. ii. 111. his letter to Cromwell expressing great zeal for serving the king in suppressing the lesser monasteries, III. 208. ii. 139. a known favourer of the pope's interests, and the head of the party against the reformation, I. 343. what bishops sided with him, *ibid.* signed as a member of convocation the articles of 1536, ii. 286. his resolutions of some questions respecting sacraments, 444–467. bishops and priests, 469–484. confession, 487, 489, 490. excommunication, 491, 493. and extreme unction, 494, 496. signed a declaration of the functions and divine institution of bishops and priests, 340. maintained in parliament that auricular confession was of divine institution, I. 413. signed the book of articles and ceremonies, 1536, III. 229. his injunctions to his clergy, 243. ii. 199. a zealous Thomist, III. 300. had been engaged in disputes with Erasmus, *ibid.* he and lord Darcy surrendered Pomfret castle to the rebels in the north, I. 366. and made to swear their covenant, *ibid.* suspected of promoting the rebellion, *ibid.* recovered himself at court, 401. interposed against the suppression of the monastery of Hexham, and why, *ibid.* one of a committee named by the house of lords to draw up articles of religion, 411. supported the six articles in parliament, III. 255. ii. 233. a bill drawn up by him and others for the enactment of the six articles adopted by

parliament in preference to one drawn up by Cranmer and others, I. 414. one of those appointed to draw up the *Institution of a Christian Man*, 438, 455. his death, 524.

Lee, Rowland, I. 294. ii. 560. III. ii. 291. married Henry VIII to Anne Boleyn, I. 211. afterwards made bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, *ibid.* signed as a member of convocation the articles of 1536 by proxy, ii. 286. his injunctions to his clergy, III. ii. 206.

Lee, Dr. Thomas, III. 168, 205, 241, 272. ii. 52. in the commission to visit monasteries, I. 295. his letter to Cromwell concerning the visitation at York, III. ii. 134. the northern rebels demand his imprisonment for bribery and extortion in visiting the monasteries, I. 369.

Legatine synod, III. 87. held by Wolsey, *ibid.*

Legh, see *Lee, Dr. Thomas.*

Leghorn, see *Milan.*

Leicester, appointed for the see of a suffragan bishop, I. 259.

Leicester, abbeys of, Franciscans, Dominicans, and Austin Friars, surrendered, I. ii. 241, 242.

Leicester, Robert Dudley, earl of, I. ii. 534. II. 386, 413, 448. ii. 53. III. 84. married sir J. Robsart's daughter, II. ii. 20. one of the gentlemen of Edward VI's chamber, 45. a defendant at a tilt and tournay, 60, 62. restored in blood by act of parliament, II. 577. his letter to the earl of Sussex about the treatment of Mary queen of Scots in England, 660. ii. 573.

Leifield, John, rector of St. Clement Danes, concerned in the translation of the Bible, temp. king James I, II. ii. 559.

Leigh, Dr., concerned in the translation of the Bible, in the reign of James I, II. ii. 559.

Leighton, see *Layton.*

Leith, a mean village, taken by the protector Somerset, II. 84. fortified, 162. became one of the best peopled towns in Scotland, *ibid.*

Leland, John, I. 35.

Lennox, countess of, see *Douglas, lady M.*

Lennox, Matthew Stewart, earl of, I. 522. II. 85. III. 551. next in blood to the crown of Scotland after the earl of Arran, I. 512. sent over to Scotland by the French court to lead the queen's party against the Hamiltons, *ibid.* laid aside on the Hamiltons' espousing the French interests, 513. fled into England, *ibid.* married lady Margaret Douglas, *ibid.* by whom he had lord Darnly, father to king James I, *ibid.* gained over by Henry VIII to his interest, III. 285. the terms, 286. accompanies the army sent into Scotland, II. 161.

Lent, fasting in, declared to be only a positive law, II. 123. ii. 185.

Lenton, abbot of, see *Heath, N.*

Leo, emperor, deposed by Gregory III for his opposition to the worship of images, II. 47.

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Montmorency, —, constable of France, II. 255, 259, 563, 650. ii. 12, 16, 50, 65, 87, 89. III. 111, 116, 119, 125, 134, 135, 137, 140, 142, 144, 155, 162, 180, 230, 433, 490. ii. 427. in the commission (as great master) to receive Henry VIII's oath to a treaty with France, III. 105. why he opposed Melancthon's going into France, 211. in a commission to treat with the English embassy about the marriage of Edward VI with the French princess Elizabeth, II. 303. ii. 39. his reasons against a union between the dauphin and the queen of Scots, II. 350. an enemy to the family of Guise, *ibid.* takes Metz, Toul, and Verdun, 356. ii. 68. one of the French commissioners to treat with the English ambassadors about a peace between France and Spain, II. 497. only effected a truce, *ibid.* in a commission to treat of peace between the king of France and the emperor, III. ii. 379. defeated and taken prisoner by the Spaniards at the battle of St. Quintin, II. 564. lost thereby his great reputation, *ibid.* came again into power with the king of Navarre, regent during Charles IX's minority, 657. fell into disgrace on king Henry's death, 650, 656. at one time bore all the swing, ii. 17.
Montmorency, —, son to the constable, a French hostage for peace with England, II. 259. ii. 13. his arrival in England, 16.
Montreville, taken by Villebone, II. ii. 83.
Montrose, master of, signed the bond upon queen Mary's resignation, III. 550. ii. 555.
Montrose, provost of, in an embassy to France about the marriage of Mary queen of Scots to the dauphin, III. 484.
Moore, John, bishop of Norwich and afterwards of Ely, his valuable library and collection of MSS., of which Burnet had the free use, III. 10, 100, 120.
Moore, William, prior of Worcester, his judgment concerning the pope's authority, III. ii. 81.
Moors, the inquisition introduced into Spain against them, II. 555.
Mordaunt, John lord, sat on the trial of queen Anne Boleyn and lord Rochford, I. 323.
Mordaunt, sir John, afterwards lord, son of the preceding, declares for queen Mary against lady Jane Grey, II. 383. in a

commission against heretics, 556. ii. 469.
More, —, a priest, tried for denying the king's supremacy, I. 567. pardoned, *ibid.*
More, Henry, Dr., attests a copy of a genuine record of the rites and ceremonies of archbishop Parker's consecration, II. ii. 557.
More, sir Thomas, lord chancellor, I. 14, 68, 77, 180, 206, 212, 263, 266, 267, 270, 381, 402, 537, 582. ii. 551, 552, 560, 564, 568. II. 381, 536. ii. 546, 589. III. 195, 197, 198, 260, 300. ii. 108, 117, 118. the year of his birth uncertain, I. 557. speaker of the house of commons, 34. ill used by cardinal Wolsey, 69. bishop Tunstall's licence to him for reading heretical books, ii. 13. answered some of Tyndale's, I. 69. a bitter enemy to the new preachers, *ibid.* had the chancellorship of the duchy of Lancaster, III. 125. his high character, I. 140. made lord chancellor, *ibid.* III. 125. always a great favourer of the clergy, I. 194. had Bainham, a heretic, whipped and put to the rack in his own presence, 270. he, with Warham, Tunstall, and many canonists and divines, drew up a paper to be read in churches, declaring a translation of the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue to be unnecessary, 263. resigns the chancellorship, foreseeing a total rupture with Rome, and disliking Anne Boleyn, 208. had discharged that office with great temper and integrity, *ibid.* how far concerned in the business about the Maid of Kent, 247. had but a mean opinion of her, *ibid.* escaped punishment through lord chancellor Audley and Cromwell, 247. refuses to take the oath of succession, 256. efforts to induce him, *ibid.* 257. Cromwell tenderly favoured him, 257. offers to take another oath, *ibid.* which archbishop Cranmer in vain advised to be accepted, *ibid.* 258. is proceeded against, 258. attainted, 260. the proceedings against him and bishop Fisher variously censured, 261. had, when in power, shewed no mercy to the preachers of Luther's doctrine, 261. answered Fish's *Supplication of the Beggars* in a book which he called *The Supplication of Souls*, 264. was replied to by Frith, 265. Erasmus his great friend, 266. his trial and death, 556. his character, 557. III. 301. wrote against the doctrines of the reformers, and the new opinions in general, I. 557, 558. character of his writings, 558. he and Fisher not the authors of Henry VIII's book against Luther, *ibid.* 84. he and Erasmus brought the school system of arguing into ridicule, II. 196. his opinion of convocations, III. 43. calls them confederacies, *ibid.* this a misstatement, *ibid.* his thoughts of religion in his Utopia, 95. ii. 17. a remarkable passage left out in the latter editions, *ibid.* his subsequent change, III. 98. all his works ordered by queen Mary to be printed, II. 507; but his letter to Cromwell about the nun of Kent left out, *ibid.* copy of it, ii. 431. Rastall published

his works, but there is great reason to think that he did not write his Life, I. 84. II. 508. did however write his Life, I. 83. his Life written by his son-in-law, Roper, ii. 551.
Moreman, Dr. John, II. 210, 211, 424, 426. ii. 601.
Moreton, William, an ecclesiastical visitor in the north, II. ii. 187.
Morgan, Henry, signed as a member of convocation the articles of 1536, I. ii. 288. disputed at Oxford with P. Martyr upon Christ's presence in the sacrament, II. 196. made bishop of St. David's, 442. sat on the trial of bishop Ferrar for heresy, 493. had been his chief accuser before, 363. was not present at, nor did he send his proxy to, the convocation of 1559, III. 471.
Morgan, Hugo, voted in the convocation of 1562 against certain alterations in divine service, III. ii. 482.
Morgan, Philip, bishop of Ely, I. 189. ii. 159.
Morgan, sergeant, sent to the Fleet for hearing mass, II. ii. 33. as judge, pronounced sentence on lady Jane Grey, II. 437. went mad shortly after, *ibid.*
Morice, Ralph, secretary to archbishop Cranmer, I. 425, 426.
Morinus, a learned priest of the Oratorian order, published the most ancient rituals he could find, II. 252.
Morison, sir Richard, sent ambassador to the emperor, Charles V, II. 364. his instructions, ii. 342. Wotton sent ambassador to the emperor in his place, 34.
Morley, Edward Parker lord, sat on the trial of queen Anne Boleyn and lord Rochford, I. 323. dissented in parliament from the act allowing the clergy to marry, II. 168. from the act for the destruction of the old service-books, 250. from the bill for uniformity, 624. ii. 618. went beyond sea to live shortly after queen Elizabeth's succession, II. 629.
Morone, cardinal, II. ii. 464, 477, 478. III. 433. ii. 380. a great friend of cardinal Pole, II. 525. his letter to him about his delay in going to England as legate, III. ii. 336. imprisoned by Paul IV on suspicion of heresy, II. 525. III. 456. had a high reputation for sanctity, *ibid.*
Morret, mons., II. ii. 17.
Mortier, Guillart de, II. ii. 18. one of the French commissioners to make peace with England, II. 258. ii. 12.
Mortimer, Margaret, daughter of sir John Neville, marquis of Montague, widow of sir John Mortimer, II. 301. married Charles Brandon, *ibid.* divorced from him, 302.
Mortimer, sir John, married Margaret Neville, daughter of the marquis of Montague, II. 301.
Morton, James Douglas, earl of, signed the bond of association with England, III. 492. he and the earl of Glencairn sent on an embassy to queen Elizabeth, with a proposition of marriage between her and the earl of Arran, 505. their instructions, ii. 465. signed the bond upon queen Mary's resignation, III. 550. ii. 550. takes the coronation oath for James VI, III. 549. afterwards regent, 550.
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III. 96. the first who set up the pretence of the prerogative of the archbishop's courts to the probate of wills in certain cases, 86. his jester's advice, 96.
Morvillier, mons., II. ii. 44.
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Moss, Robert, III. ii. 282.
Most Christian King, made a title of the French crown by Pius II, III. 61. why, *ibid.*
Moubray, Roger de, signed the letter to the pope about the independence of Scotland, II. ii. 157.
Mounslow, see *Ancelme.*
Mountford, —, II. ii. 30.
Mountgrace [de Ingleby], monastery of, Yorkshire, Carthusians, resignation and suppression of, I. ii. 257.
Mountjoy, William Blount lord, III. 296. ii. 277. sent by Henry VIII to queen Catharine to acquaint her of her divorce, I. 222. his protestation against an act of parliament the only instance of a protestation against any public bill in Henry VIII's reign, 510.
Mountmedy, town of, taken by the French, II. ii. 78, 79.
Mowse, William, master of Trinity hall, Cambridge, II. ii. 589.
Moyle, Thomas, one of the visitors of Glastonbury, III. 259. ii. 236.
Moyne, mons. Le, III. 326.
Muhlberg, the duke of Saxony defeated and taken prisoner there by the emperor, II. 108.
Muirhead, Richard, secretary of Scotland, one of the council to assist the regent, the earl of Arran, III. 479.
Munster, bishop of and dean of Bonn, brother to archbishop Herman, deprived for favouring the reformation, II. 110.
Munster, possessed by the anabaptist rebels, II. 203.
Muraltus, —, III. ii. 397, 417.
Murder, procurers of, denied the benefit of clergy by act of parliament, II. 577. which was opposed by the bishops, *ibid.*
Murray, Alan de, signed the letter to the pope about the independence of Scotland, II. ii. 157.
Murray, bishop of, see *Hepburn, P.*
Murray, James Stewart earl of, one of the council to assist the earl of Arran, governor of Scotland, III. 479.
Murray, lord James Stewart, prior of St. Andrews, earl of, II. 649, 650. III. 486, 507, 508, 543, 545, 547. ii. 470–474, 547. natural son of James V, 421. a man of great courage and wisdom, *ibid.* repulsed a landing of the English under lord Seymour, II. 160. head of a faction against the duke of Châtelherault, *ibid.* 351. one of the commissioners sent to France about the marriage of Mary queen of Scots with the dauphin, 569. III. 484. his health impaired in France, probably by poison, II. 587. a stickler for the French interest, 588. he and the earl of Argyle appointed to carry the matrimonial crown to the dauphin on his marriage with Mary queen of Scots, *ibid.* signed the memorial against the queen regent's government, III. 488. ii. 424. signed the instructions for an embassy to queen Elizabeth, III. 506. queen Mary why jealous of

him, 509. recommended to queen Elizabeth, *ibid.* signed the bond upon queen Mary's resignation, ii. 551. made regent of Scotland upon the queen's resigning the crown to her son, III. 549. the bond acknowledging his authority, 550. ii. 556. signs the bond settling the kingdom, III. 550. favours the reformation, ii. 541. lord Abernethie one of his titles, 556.

Murray, Thomas Ranulph earl of, signed the letter to the pope about the independence of Scotland, II. ii. 157.

Musculus, Wolfgang, Mont's letter to him about the Interim, III. 348. ii. 285.

Musgrave, sir Richard, appointed warden of the west-marches in the north, II. ii. 84.

Musgrave, —, concerned in the northern rebellion, I. 372. routed by the duke of Norfolk, 373.

Myddleton, —, one of those appointed by the university of Cambridge to answer in its name the question relative to Henry VIII's first marriage, I. ii. 132. III. ii. 30.

Mylsente, —, one of those appointed by the university of Cambridge to answer in its name the question relative to Henry VIII's first marriage, I. ii. 132. III. ii. 30.

Myndia, its participation in the Smalcaldic league, III. ii. 146.

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Naples, kingdom of, I. 28.

Nase, John, signed as a member of convocation the articles of 1536, I. ii. 289.

Nauclerus, II. ii. 209.

Navarre, conquered by Spain, I. 24.

Navarre, king of, a weak prince, II. 587. how he countenanced the protestants, 586. regent of France during Charles IX's minority, 657. gained over by Catharine de Medici to her interests, *ibid.* killed at the siege of Rouen, *ibid.*

Navarre, princess of, married to the duke of Vendome, II. ii. 49.

Navarre, queen of, I. 489. III. 277. ii. 257, 259, 263. wished to separate Francis I, her brother, from the see of Rome, III. 212. one of the most extraordinary women that any age has produced, II. 587. her character, *ibid.* how she countenanced the protestants, 586. Henry IV her son, 587.

Neale, —, chaplain to bishop Bonner, II. 639. author of the Nag's-head fable about archbishop Parker's consecration, *ibid.* the story confuted, *ibid.*

Neath, de, convent of St. Mary, Glamorganshire, Cistercians, new founded and preserved from the dissolution of lesser monasteries, I. ii. 228.

Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man, a commission to draw it up appointed by the king and confirmed in parliament, I. 438, 439, 455. notice of it, 455. its explanation of faith, 456. of the Apostles' Creed, 459. full of excellent matters, *ibid.* its explanation of the seven sacraments, *ibid.* of the ten commandments, 462. of the Lord's Prayer, 463. of Ave Maria, *ibid.* of free-will, *ibid.* of justification, 464; and of good works, 465. set forth

with a preface written by those of the clergy who had been employed in it, *ibid.* and published by the king's authority, *ibid.* the king added another preface to it some years after, 466. [see note, and *Institution for the Necessary Erudition*, &c.] called the *King's Book*, *ibid.* note. notice of the king's preface to it, *ibid.* the book variously censured, *ibid.* speaks of bishops and priests as one and the same office, 396. was never brought into convocation, III. 282; but treated by some bishops and divines of both provinces and published by the king's authority, *ibid.* altered from the *Institution of a Christian Man*, I. 229.

Nelle, village of, razed, II. ii. 89, 90.

Nemours, duke of, II. ii. 91.

Neocæsarea, council of, declared the obligation of the Levitical law as to forbidden degrees of marriage, I. 169. forbade a priest to marry, ii. 387.

Neru[tius], Matthæus, a canonist, considered the Mosaical prohibition of certain degrees of marriage still binding, I. 171.

Nesham, see *Nesseham.*

Nesseham [or Nesham], monastery of, Durham, Benedictine nuns, surrendered, I. ii. 257.

Netherlands, Hooper's account of the cruelty of the Spaniards there, III. ii. 287. cause of the civil wars there against king Philip, II. 658. the protestants there aided by queen Elizabeth, *ibid.* a declaration of the causes moving queen Elizabeth to aid the people oppressed there, III. 552. ii. 558, 569. the chief ground on which they justified the throwing off the Spanish yoke, II. 231. the first cause of its revolt, 555, 556.

Neville, Margaret, daughter of the marquis of Montague, the first wife of C. Brandon duke of Suffolk, and widow of sir J. Mortimer, II. 301.

Neville, sir Anthony, one of the council in the north, II. ii. 331, 333, 335.

Neville, sir Edward, a very brave but a very vicious man, III. 252. executed for treason, I. 562, 563.

Neville, sir Henry, I. 542. ii. 537. appointed to attend the lord admiral in an embassy to France, II. ii. 50. was one of the privy chamber, 15, 50. knighted, 50. a challenger at a tilt and tournay, 56, 60, 62.

Nevison, Christopher, a judge on the trial of G. van Pare, II. ii. 249.

Nevynson, —, one of the disputants in the convocation of 1562 upon certain proposed alterations in divine service, III. ii. 481. voted for them, *ibid.*

New Abbey of Tower-hill, founded by Edward III, III. 248. ii. 218.

Newbattle, abbot of, signed the instructions for an embassy to queen Elizabeth, III. 506.

Newburgh, abbey of, Yorkshire, Austin canons, surrendered, I. ii. 245.

Newcastle, abbeys of, Franciscans, Austin Friars, Dominicans, and Carmelites, surrendered, I. ii. 244.

Newcastle, convent of St. Bartholomew, Benedictine nuns, new founded and preserved from the dissolution of lesser

monasteries, I. ii. 229. surrendered, 257.
Newcastle, see of, an act passed for founding it out of the revenues of the bishopric of Durham, II. 359. rendered abortive by Edward VI's death, *ibid.*
Newenham, abbey of, Devonshire, Cistercians, surrendered, I. ii. 249.
Newenham, John, prior of, signed as a member of convocation the articles of 1536, I. ii. 287.
New-haven, in Picardy, built by Seymour, afterwards protector, II. 85. taken by the French, 229. ii. 8.
New learning, the reformation so termed by its opponents, I. 514.
Newman, —, burnt for heresy, temp. queen Mary, II. 509.
Newminster, see *Hyde.*
Newstead, abbey of, Lincolnshire, Gilbertines, surrendered, I. ii. 238.
Newstead, abbey of, Nottinghamshire, Austin canons, surrendered, I. ii. 250.
Newstead, convent of St. Mary, Nottinghamshire, Austin nuns, new founded and preserved from the dissolution of lesser monasteries, I. ii. 228.
New Testament, Erasmus's Paraphrase upon, translated into English, II. 73. thought the most profitable and easiest book, *ibid.* ordered to be placed in every parish church over England, 74. See *Tyndale, W.*
Nice, council of, I. 344, 412. ii. 274, 275, 366, 387. II. 170. III. 191, 234. ii. 97. why not truly general, I. 285, 286. convened by Irene, 331. declared that the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch had the same authority as the patriarch of Rome, 231. established the worship of images, II. 47.
Nicholls, Benedict, bishop of St. David's, I. 189. ii. 159, 160.
Nicolas I, pope, I. 301, 478. ii. 367. II. 252, 465. ii. 228. determined a marriage to be completed by the consent and the benediction, I. 172. pressed the celibate of the clergy, II. 171.
Nicolas V, pope, III. 71.
Nicolas, sir John, one of the clerks of the council, II. 60.
Nicolas, —, secretary to Francis I, III. ii. 62.
Nicolson, see *Lambert.*
Nikke, see *Nix.*
Nix [Nykke, Nikke, or Nyx], Richard, bishop of Norwich, I. ii. 205. III. 85, 205. opposed the reformation, I. 343. had offended the king signally by some correspondence with Rome, *ibid.* condemned in a *præmunire* for infringing the privileges of the town of Thetford, III. 209. pardoned, *ibid.* his death, I. 343.
Non-residence, an exemption for on the ground of studying at the universities, restrained, I. 339.
Non-residences, not sufficiently corrected at the reformation, II. 15, 18, 19.
Norfolk, a rebellion there headed by Kett, a tanner, II. 213. ii. 9, 10. object of the insurgents, II. 212. Parker (afterwards archbishop of Canterbury) went amongst them and preached against them, 213. the marquis of Northampton sent against them, *ibid.* but is unsuccessful, 215. ii. 10. the

rebels dispersed by the earl of Warwick, II. 215. ii. 10. Kett, their captain, hanged, *ibid.*

Norfolk, Agnes Tilney duchess of, I. ii. 545. godmother to queen Elizabeth, I. 224. attainted of misprision of treason for concealing queen Catharine Howard's ill conduct, 495. pardoned, 496.

Norfolk, Elizabeth Stafford duchess of, III. 296.

Norfolk, Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, duke of, lord treasurer, I. 29, 82, 86. III. ii. 5. earl of Surrey, afterwards duke of Norfolk, lord treasurer to Henry VII and Henry VIII, I. 23. humoured the sparingness of the former and the prodigality of the latter, *ibid.* defeated James IV of Scotland in the battle of Flodden Field, I. 29. III. 77. faction in Henry VIII's council between him, as lord treasurer, and bishop Fox, about the king's expenditure, I. 29. Wolsey raised by bishop Fox to strengthen his party against him, 30. restored to the dukedom of Norfolk, 33. continued lord treasurer until near the end of Henry VIII's reign, *ibid.* earl of, one of the privy council at the accession of Henry VIII, 371. lord high steward at the duke of Buckingham's trial, III. 296. ii. 277.

Norfolk, Thomas Howard duke of, son of the preceding, I. 14, 136, 140, 211, 315, 318, 425, 446, 450, 505, 540, 550, 556, 560. ii. 424, 425, 537, 565, 579, 580. II. 37, 40, 41, 42, 245, 263, 310, 316, 387. ii. 619. III. 123, 140, 160, 161, 163, 167, 176, 194, 210, 224, 257, 267, 285, 301, 334, 491, 504. ii. 33, 48, 145, 167. one of Henry VIII's privy council, I. 371. an enemy to Wolsey, III. 119. present at the king's marriage to Anne Boleyn, 156. sent into France by the king about his divorce, but soon recalled, 159. I. 441. his letter to Montmorency about the king's divorce, III. 180. uncle to queen Anne Boleyn, yet her mortal enemy, I. 282. at the head of the party against the reformation, *ibid.* a dexterous courtier, *ibid.* he and Gardiner great friends, and heads of the popish party, *ibid.* 468. they managed bishop Longland, 282. acted as lord high steward at the trial of queen Anne Boleyn and lord Rochford, 322. III. 223. sent against the rebels in the north, I. 367, 372. breaks them by delays, 368. advises a pardon, and why, 369. routed Musgrave and Tilby, 373. prevents fresh risings, *ibid.* proceeds with martial law against many whom he had taken, *ibid.* lord Darcy's accusation against him, *ibid.* one of the godfathers to Edward VI, II. 34. ii. 3. proposes *the six articles* to parliament, I. 411. an instance of the enmity between him and Cromwell, 425. challenged Cromwell of high treason in the king's name, 441. why he hated him, *ibid.* dissuaded the king from pardoning him, 453. his character, 479. in what estimation he was held by the king, *ibid.* his inroad into Scotland by the king's order, 504. sent to besiege Montreuil, III. 287. raises the siege, 288. had long

been lord treasurer, I. 542. his services, *ibid.* committed to the Tower, and why, 543. III. 293. bishop Thirlby's letter about it, *ibid.* ii. 271. his letter to the lords of the council, III. 294. ii. 274. his submission to the king, I. 544. attainted by parliament, 545. his death prevented by the king's, 546. Cranmer would not be concerned in his attainder, although the duke was his constant enemy, 546, 547. the king might have lost his crown in the rebellion but for him, 560. excepted out of a pardon proclaimed at Edward VI's coronation, II. 55, 102. set at liberty upon queen Mary's accession, 386, 387. lord high steward at the trial of the duke of Northumberland and others, 390. considered never to have been truly attainted, 391. his attainder annulled by parliament, 412. by a private act, 390.

Norfolk, Thomas Howard duke of, grandson of the preceding, II. 589, 594. ii. 568, 571, 572. III. ii. 463. he and sir H. Jerningham sent against Wiat's rebels, II. 432. sent down to defend the marches against Scotland, 569. sent to treat with the lords of the congregation in Scotland, who were headed by the duke of Châtelherault, 652.

Norice, —, a defendant at a tilt and tournay, II. ii. 60.

Norman, —, accused Holgate, the archbishop of York, of taking his wife and keeping her from him, III. 344.

Norris, Henry, I. 318, 322. III. 222. groom of the stole, I. 316. observed to have much of Anne Boleyn's favour, *ibid.* sent to the Tower, 317. beheaded, 329.

North, instructions for the lord president of the north, II. 361. ii. 330. regulations respecting his council, *ibid.*

North, sir Edward, afterwards lord, II. 43, 57. ii. 351. III. 285, 335, 421, 422. chancellor of the court of augmentation, I. 533. in a commission to inquire into the distribution of certain donations of the king, *ibid.* one of Henry VIII's executors, and governors to his son and to the kingdom, II. 37. one of Edward VI's privy council, 59. ii. 117, 143. signed certain letters and orders of the privy council, 132, 242, 274, 301, 304. he and most of the council separate from the protector, and meet at Ely-house, II. 239. signed the council's letter to queen Mary to acquaint her that lady Jane Grey was now their sovereign, 379. in a commission for a severer way of proceeding against heretics, 556. ii. 469. dissented in parliament from the bill for uniformity, II. 624. ii. 618. and from that declaring the deprivation of certain popish bishops in king Edward's time to have been good, II. 625.

Northallerton, abbey of, Yorkshire, Carmelites, surrendered, I. ii. 233, 244.

Northampton, abbey of St. Andrew, Benedictines, notice of their confession of crimes, I. 377. surrendered, ii. 234.

Northampton, abbey of St. Andrew, Cluniacs, surrendered, I. ii. 234.

Northampton, abbeys of, Dominicans, Carmelites, Franciscans,

and Austin friars, surrendered, I. ii. 240, 241.
Northampton, Henry Howard earl of, son of the earl of Surrey, I. 543.
Northampton, lady marquess of, II. ii. 53.
Northampton, William Par, earl of Essex, marquis of, I. 549. ii. 537. II. 41, 43, 70, 386, 600. ii. 20, 21, 29, 43, 51, 53, 54, 55, 503, 593. III. 321, 330, 333, 335, 350, 376. one of the privy council appointed by Henry VIII's will to assist his executors, II. 38. created marquis of Northampton, 54. ii. 4. one of Edward VI's council, II. 59. ii. 11, 117, 142. in its committee for matters of state, 119. signed certain letters and orders of the privy council, 146, 274, 288, 301, 304, 345. III. ii. 464. has a commission of array for the counties of Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk during the protector's expedition into Scotland, II. 81. captain of the pensioners, ii. 18. married Anne Bourchier, daughter of the earl of Essex, the last of that name, II. 117. divorced from her upon her being convicted of adultery, *ibid.* a commission appointed to consider whether he might marry again, *ibid.* 118. before its decision he marries Elizabeth Brooke, daughter of lord Cobham, 118. his justification of himself before the council, *ibid.* 119. ordered to be parted from his wife till the commission had decided, *ibid.* the grounds on which they decided that he might marry again, *ibid.* 120. ii. 181. an act passed confirming his marriage, II. 325. sent against the Norfolk rebels' 213. ii. 10. but is unsuccessful, II. 215. ii. 10. joins the council against the protector, II. 240. one of the six governors of the king's person upon the protector's removal, 244. one of the embassy to France about Edward VI's marriage with the princess Elizabeth, 303. ii. 39. the duke of Somerset charged with conspiring to procure his death, II. 305, 306. ii. 51. one of the peers on his trial, II. 306. ii. 57. the duke asks his pardon, II. 308. in a commission to review and amend the statutes concerning the order of the Garter, 345. ii. 35. sent to the French king with the order of the Garter, and about a treaty, but chiefly concerning the proposed marriage of Edward VI with Elizabeth, the French king's daughter, 35, 36, 37. arrives at Nantes, 38. invests the king with the order, 39. negotiates about the marriage, *ibid.* 43. returns home, 44. his reward, *ibid.* allowed one hundred men-at-arms, 58. he and others ended a certain matter at Eton College between the master and the fellows, and took order for the amendment of certain superstitious statutes, 85. signed Edward VI's limitation of the crown, III. ii. 308. signed the council's letter to the lady Mary to acquaint her that lady Jane Grey was now their sovereign, II. 379. brought to trial for his part against queen Mary, 390. confesses himself guilty, and submits to the queen's mercy, 391. had been a submissive fawner on the duke of Northumberland, 386.

his second marriage annulled by parliament, 412. restored in blood, 450. one of queen Elizabeth's first privy council, 597. was of the reformed religion, *ibid.*

Northumberland, duchess of, II. ii. 54, 55. III. 397.

Northumberland, Henry Percy, fifth earl of, placed his son, lord Percy, in Wolsey's service, I. 88.

Northumberland, Henry lord Percy, sixth earl of, I. 142. II. ii. 155. was in Wolsey's service, I. 88. for education, *ibid.* note. Anne Boleyn had consented to marry him, *ibid.* chid by Wolsey for making addresses to her, *ibid.* his letter to Cromwell, denying any contract or promise of marriage between himself and Anne Boleyn before her marriage with the king, III. 224. ii. 167. left the court at the trial of queen Anne Boleyn and lord Rochford from sudden illness, I. 323. died without issue, II. 304.

Northumberland, John Dudley, viscount Lisle, earl of Warwick, duke of, II. 11, 22, 41, 43, 83, 261, 306, 308, 310, 316, 358, 368, 381, 416, 450, 537. ii. 19, 21, 23, 35, 44, 50, 51, 55, 57, 58, 66, 72, 82, 83, 89, 250, 587, 597, 604, 605. III. 330, 333, 335, 352, 358, 364, 390, 399, 442, (as lord admiral, II. ii. 29, 72.) was son to Dudley, who was executed, init. Henry VIII, II. 86. raised by king Henry to be admiral and viscount Lisle, *ibid.* ii. 12. defended Boulogne against the French, II. 86. acquitted himself with honour at the French court about the peace, *ibid.* his character, *ibid.* one of Henry VIII's executors and governors to his son and to the kingdom, 37. one of Edward VI's privy council, 59. ii. 11, 117, 142. in its committee for matters of state, 119. signed certain letters and orders of the privy council, 136, 242, 274, 301, 304, 345. created earl of Warwick, II. 54. ii. 4. made lord great chamberlain, *ibid.* appointed lord lieutenant of the north during the protector's expedition into Scotland, II. 81. ii. 14. accompanies the protector in his expedition against Scotland, 5. nearly taken prisoner, *ibid.* had a great share in the honour of the victory at Pinkey, II. 84. glad that the protector did not follow up the victory, *ibid.* left by the protector to treat with those that should be sent from Scotland, 85. he and others sent to lord Seymour to bring him to a submission, 185. disperses the rebels in Norfolk, 215. ii. 10. surrenders his patent of admiral of England, 17. gained over to the party against the protector by the earl of Southampton, II. 237. he and most of the council separate from him, and meet at Ely-house, 239. one of the governors of the king's person upon the protector's removal, 244. believed to have given secret assurances to the papists, 245. finding the king so zealously addicted to the carrying on of the reformation, forsakes the popish party, *ibid.* the earl of Southampton falls off from him in consequence, 246. detects his plots against him, *ibid.* at

that time put on such a show of zeal, that Hooper calls him a most holy instrument, and the best affected to the word of God, III. 351. absented himself, on pretence of sickness, from the confirmation of the peace with France, II. 259. governs the councils, 260. applies to Cranmer to dispense with Hooper's wearing the episcopal vestments, and with the oath of canonical obedience at his consecration, 267. joined in alliance with the duke of Somerset, by his eldest son, the lord Lisle, marrying the duke's daughter, 277. his ambitious designs, thinking to bring the crown into his family, 301, 302. fatal to the duke of Somerset, 301. made warden of the north, ii. 49. made duke of Northumberland, II. 304. ii. 50. the duke of Somerset charged with conspiring against him, II. 305, 306, 307, 308, 309. ii. 58, 604. one of the peers on his trial, II. 306. ii. 57. the duke asks his pardon, II. 308. ii. 58. probable cause of his delaying the execution of the duke of Somerset, III. 365. absolute at court after the duke of Somerset's death, II. 317. allowed one hundred men-at-arms, ii. 58. gives up the keeping of fifty men-at-arms to his son, the earl of Warwick, 63. he and others ended a certain matter at Eton college between the master and fellows, and took order for the amendment of certain superstitious statutes, 85. his motive in seeking the attainder of bishop Tunstall, II. 328, 329. never after in friendship with Cranmer for opposing that attainder, 329. why he finds it necessary to call a new parliament, 330. in a commission to review and amend the statutes concerning the order of the Garter, 345. ii. 35. hated Paget for his friendship to the duke of Somerset, II. 346. deprived him of the order of the Garter, *ibid.* much censured for it, *ibid.* the temporalty of the bishopric of Durham turned into a county palatine and given to him, 359. carried the point he had in view in calling a parliament, 360. dissolves it, *ibid.* why the people were inflamed against him, 368. very attentive to the king in his illness, *ibid.* how he persuaded the king to leave the crown to lady Jane Grey, who had married his son, the lord Guilford Dudley, *ibid.* frightens the judges into compliance, 369, 370. the people's jealousy of him increased by his advising a female quack to be tried for the king's recovery, 371. unsuccessful in his attempt to get the princesses Mary and Elizabeth into his hands, *ibid.* unable to conceal the king's death for a time, as he wished, *ibid.* those of the reformation abhor him, suspecting he had hastened the king's death, 374. he and the duke of Suffolk waited on lady Jane Grey to give her notice of her being to succeed to the crown in room of the deceased king, 377. signed the council's letter to the lady Mary to acquaint her of it, 379. much hated, 382. much distracted in his mind whether to march against queen Mary, or to remain with the council, whom he could

not trust, 383. marches against her, *ibid.* none join him, 384. the earl of Arundel out of hatred to him induces the council to declare for queen Mary, *ibid.* 385. he submits and is taken, 385. sent to the Tower, 386. the marquis of Northampton had been a submissive fawner on him, *ibid.* brought to trial, 390. confesses himself guilty, 391. begs his life, but in vain, III. 387. Gardiner interceded for him, 388. but the emperor Charles V urged his death, *ibid.* his execution, II. 391, 392. professes at his death that he had been always a papist, 11, 391. his character, 392. why his life was not spared, 391. was chancellor of the university and steward of the town of Cambridge, 384. sir Ambrose Dudley his brother, 84.

Northumberland, Thomas Percy, seventh earl of, warden of the east and middle marches in the north, in the high commission for the province of York, II. ii. 533. concerned in a rebellion, III. 512.

Norton, Richard, II. ii. 225. one of the council in the north, 332, 333. his salary, 334.

Norton, sir John, appointed to attend the lord admiral in an embassy to France, II. ii. 50.

Norwich, bishop of, 1426–1436, *Alnewick, W.;* 1501–1535, *Nix, R.;* 1536–1549, *Rugge, W.;* 1550–1554, *Thirlby, T.;* 1554–1558, *Hopton, J.;* 1560–1574, *Parkhurst, J.*

Norwich, dean of, 1538, *Castleton, W.;* 1702, *Prideaux, H.*

Norwich, dean and chapter, so altered from a prior and convent, III. 377. I. ii. 581. a commission for the surrender of the chapter, III. ii. 309. an attempt to recover the property in queen Mary's reign, III. 378.

Norwich, diocese of, mandate to it respecting certain articles of religion, III. 372. ii. 298. size of the diocese, III. 393.

Norwich, see of, Henry VIII took into his own hands all the lands and manors belonging to it, and gave the bishop several of the priories in Norfolk in exchange, I. 343. the exchange confirmed in parliament, *ibid.*

Nostredame, dean of, III. 69.

Noteley, Richard, abbot of, signed as a member of convocation the articles of 1536, I. ii. 287.

Notely [or Nuttley], abbey of, Buckinghamshire, Austin canons, surrendered, I. ii. 243.

Nott [or Neott], John, monk of Glastonbury, II. ii. 463.

Nottingham, appointed for the see of a suffragan bishop, I. 259.

Nottingham, abbeys of, Carmelites and Franciscans, surrendered, I. ii. 246.

Nottingham, earl of, was present at the consecration of archbishop Parker, II. 640. declared it was at Lambeth and according to the form of the church of England, *ibid.*

Nottingham, earl of, see *Fitzroy, H.*

Nottingham, Heneage Finch earl of, lord chancellor, bishop Burnet attended to his censures, III. 20. the bishop's pecuniary obligations to him, II. 4.

Novatian, caused a schism in the Roman church, being elected

in opposition to the bishop that was rightly chosen, I. 231.
Novatus, condemned marriage as a state of liberty more than was fit for christians, II. 170.
Nowel, Alexander, prebendary of Westminster, his Catechism, erroneously ascribed to Poynet bishop of Winchester, authorized, by letters patent, to be taught by all schoolmasters, II. 364. returned as a member of the first parliament of queen Mary, 407. a committee being appointed to search for precedents, report that being represented in the convocation house, he could not sit, *ibid.* dean of St. Paul's, chosen prolocutor of the convocation of 1561, III. 511. his Catechism agreed to in that convocation, 515. voted in the convocation of 1562 for certain alterations in divine service, ii. 481.
Nowell, Laurence, dean of Lichfield, one of the disputants in the convocation of 1562 upon certain proposed alterations, III. ii. 481. voted for them, *ibid.*
Noyon, town of, razed, II. ii. 89, 90.
Nudegates, —, II. ii. 51, 57, 58.
Nudigate [or Neudigate], —, imprisoned as an adherent of the duke of Somerset, II. 304.
Nudigate [or Neudigate], Sebastian, a monk of the Charterhouse, executed for treason, having denied Henry VIII to be supreme head on earth of the church of England, I. 553.
Nunappleton, nunnery of, Yorkshire, Cistercian, surrendered, I. ii. 257.
Nuncotton [or Cotham], nunnery of, Lincolnshire, Cistercian, surrendered, I. ii. 250.
Nuneaton, nunnery of, Warwickshire, Benedictine, surrendered, I. ii. 251.
Nun-Kelynge, convent of St. Mary, Yorkshire, Benedictine nuns, new founded and preserved from the dissolution of lesser monasteries, I. ii. 228. surrendered, 251.
Nuttley, see *Notely*.
Nycols, —, one of those appointed by the university of Cambridge to answer in its name the question relative to Henry VIII's first marriage, I. ii. 132. III. ii. 30.
Nykke, see *Nix*.
Nyx, see *Nix*.

O.

Oakam, —, I. 516.
Oath given to the Scots who submitted to the protector, II. ii. 161.
Oath of fidelity to Henry VII for the bishopric of Bath and Wells taken by cardinal Adrian, I. ii. 2, 5.
Oath of Roman Catholics, why not so much trusted to by some as their word, III. 443.
Oath of supremacy, as it was made when the bishops did homage in Henry VIII's time, III. 354. ii. 290.
Oath required about the succession to the crown, temp. Henry VIII, I. 242. commissioners sent through the country to administer it, 255. former act about it, by which all subjects were obliged to take it when offered to them, confirmed by a fresh act, 258.
Oaths sworn by the clergy to the king and the pope remitted by Henry VIII to par-

liament for its consideration, I. 206, 207.
Obizis [or Opizis], Joannes de, nuncio of pope Martin V in England, I. ii. 156, 158.
O'Brian, —, II. ii. 61.
O'Canor, —, an Irish rebel, II. 342. taken prisoner, ii. 6. leaves his lordship and is pensioned, *ibid.*
Ochinus, Bernardinus, one of the most celebrated preachers in Italy, II. 113. forsook his former superstitions, *ibid.* took shelter in England, III. 331. made canon of Canterbury, with a dispensation of residence, II. 113. had also an English pension, *ibid.* queen Elizabeth had a great regard for him, III. 499.
O'Connor, —, II. ii. 93.
Octavio, duke of Parma, III. ii. 497. why attacked by the pope and imperialists, II. ii. 38. puts himself under the protection of the king of France against the pope, II. 386.
Odeschalci, —, III. 49.
O'Docart, —, an Irish rebel, II. 343.
O'Donnel, —, an Irish rebel, II. 343.
Œcolampadius, Joannes, I. 271. II. 443. his opinion against Henry VIII's marriage with his brother's widow, I. 159.
Œcumenius, I. 458.
Offa, king, II. 471. founded the monastery of St. Alban's, exempting it from episcopal jurisdiction, I. 236, 301.
Offices of the church, a committee of selected bishops and divines appointed for examining and reforming them, II. 127. a general reformation of them set about, 143. various names of the old forms, 144. See *Liturgy.*
Ogilvy, James lord, signed the bond of association with England, III. 492. and the bond acknowledging the regent Murray, 550. ii. 556.
Ogle, Humfrid, archdeacon of Salop, signed as a member of convocation the articles of 1536, I. ii. 289.
Ogle, lord, appointed sub-warden of the east borders in the north, II. ii. 31. resigns the wardenship of the middle marches in the north, 92.
Oglethorp, Owen, president of Magdalen college, Oxford, afterwards bishop of Carlisle under queen Mary, II. 589. ii. 599. III. 273, 457. ii. 245. one of those appointed to draw up the *Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man*, I. 438, 455. his resolutions of some questions respecting sacraments, ii. 444–467. bishops and priests, 469–485. confession, 489. excommunication, 493. and extreme unction, 496. accused of being against the new book of service and the king's other proceedings, II. 279. his submission and profession of faith, *ibid.* ii. 312. became of another mind in queen Mary's time, yet was then more moderate than most others, II. 280. concerned in the disputation at Oxford upon the sacrament, against Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, 452. crowns queen Elizabeth, all the other bishops refusing to assist at the solemnity, 604. protested in parliament against the bill for restoring to the crown the first-fruits and

tenths, and all impropriated benefices which had been surrendered up by queen Mary, 608. against that annexing the supremacy to the crown, 611. against that about the appointment of bishops, *ibid.* and against that for uniformity, 624. one of the popish disputants at the conference of Westminster, 615. refuses to take the oath of supremacy, 626. imprisoned for a short time, *ibid.* his death, III. 496. ii. 444.

Oking, Robert, signed a declaration of the functions and divine institutions of bishops and priests, I. ii. 340.

Oldcastle, sir John, notice of his pretended conspiracy in the reign of Henry V, I. 61. his book prohibited, ii. 518.

Oliphant, Laurence lord, taken prisoner by the English, I. 505. signed the bond acknowledging the regent Murray, III. 550. ii. 556. a papist, III. 550.

Oliphant, William, signed the letter to the pope about the independence of Scotland, II. ii. 157.

Olisleger, —, I. 436. ii. 303.

Olivares, count, Spanish ambassador, III. 548. ii. 548.

Oliver, John, clerk, master of chancery, II. 55. ii. 137. one of Henry VIII's legal counsellors in the matter of his divorce from queen Catharine, I. 219. a judge on the trial of G. van Pare, II. ii. 249. in the commission to deprive bishop Gardiner, II. 284 note. in an embassy to France, ii. 35.

Omnibonus, Thomas, a Dominican, I. ii. 134. wrote in favour of Henry VIII's divorce, I. 153. threatened by the emperor for writing in prejudice of the pope's authority, 154.

O'More, —, an Irish rebel, II. 343. taken prisoner, ii. 6. leaves his lordship, and is pensioned, *ibid.*

O'Neal, —, an Irish rebel, II. 343.

Onelus, Joannes, III. ii. 519.

Opizis, Joannes de, see *Obizis*.

Oporinus, Joannes, printer, III. ii. 377.

Ora pro nobis sung to the saints, an injunction for its omission, and to sing other suffrages which were most necessary and most effectual, I. 399. ii. 346.

Orders below deacons, introduced into the church about the end of the second or beginning of the third century, I. 395. ii. 340. many merely induced to take lower orders that they might be exempted from the secular power and qualified for commendams, I. 396. when abolished in England, 395. See *Bishops* and *Priests*.

Orders, notice of, III. ii. 244.

Orders, why formerly considered a sacrament, I. ii. 388, 389.

Ordination of priests and deacons, a manner of, authorized by parliament, II. ii. 12. a new office for ordination ordered to be prepared, II. 246. an act passed about it, 248. form of ordination in the primitive church, 251. how afterwards corrupted, *ibid.* how restored in England at the reformation, 252. how afterwards altered, *ibid.* respective ages for ordination of bishop, priest, and deacon, *ibid.* the additions brought into the church of

Rome in giving orders, *ibid.* interrogations and sponsions in the new English book, 253. no re-ordination required in queen Mary's days of those who had been ordained in king Edward's time, 465. but some things supplied according to the rights of the Roman pontifical, *ibid.*

Orense, bishop of, III. 318.

Origen, I. 154, 458. ii. 400, 406. II. 121, 147, 199, 424, 630. III. 342. considered the Mosaical prohibition of certain degrees of marriage still of force, I. 169, 170. his opinion that the wife could not marry again after divorce, II. 120.

Orkney, bishop of, 1540, *Reid, R.;* 1562, *Bothwell, A.*

Orleans, duke of, proposal of a marriage between him and Henry VIII's daughter Mary, III. 260, 275. ii. 254. promised to declare himself a protestant, 280. died of the plague, 282.

Orleans, duke of, see *Henry II of France.*

Orleans, (Aurelia,) university of, decided against Henry VIII's marriage with his brother's widow, I. 158. ii. 138. and gave their opinion that he was not bound to appear at Rome, neither in person, nor by proxy, in compliance with the citation in the matter of his divorce, III. 158.

Ormaneto, Nicholas, II. 479. III. 401, 403, 405. ii. 329, 337. a friend of cardinal Pole, II. 553. appointed by him one of the visitors of the university of Cambridge, *ibid.* also of Oxford, 554. III. 451. has the title of the pope's datary, II. 567. sent by cardinal Pole to the pope to mollify his anger against him, *ibid.* his account of his audience with the bishop of Arras about Pole being appointed legate, III. 405. ii. 338. eminent for nothing but intolerable insolence, according to Calfhill canon of Christ Church in Oxford, III. 451.

Ormesby, abbey of, Lincolnshire, Gilbertines, surrendered, I. ii. 239.

Osbourne, John, groom of the chamber, I. ii. 537.

Oseney, abbey of, Oxford, Austin canons, surrendered, I. ii. 252. converted into a bishopric, a deanery, and six prebends, I. 476.

Oseney, abbot of, see *Barton, J.*

Osiander, Andreas, I. 161, 281. his niece married to Cranmer, 159. wrote a book upon incestuous marriages, *ibid.* which was called in by a prohibition printed at Augsburg, because it favoured Henry VIII's divorce, *ibid.* Cranmer imbibed from him the Lutheran notion of the sacrament, 402. too severe in condemning the Helvetian churches, II. 290, 291.

Osmond, Thomas, fuller, burnt for heresy, temp. queen Mary, II. 502.

Osmund, bishop of Sarum, believed to have compiled the missal of Sarum, II. 143.

Ossius [or Hosius], I. 580.

Ossory, lord, see *Fitzpatrick, B.*

Ostiensis, a canonist, considered the Mosaical prohibition of certain degrees of marriage still binding, I. 171.

Ostium, taken by the Turks, II. ii. 50.

Oswald, bishop of Worcester, a monk, I. 53. turned out of

their livings those of the secular clergy who refused to put away their wives, *ibid.*
Otho, constitution of, II. 521. III. 525.
Otto, professor at Geneva, III. 42. obtains copies of documents for Burnet, 468.
Ottobonus, III. 86. constitution of, forbidding the reading of all heretical books, II. 521.
Overall, John, dean of St. Paul's (afterwards successively bishop of Lichfield and Coventry and of Norwich), concerned in the translation of the Bible, temp. king James, II. ii. 559.
Overey, abbot of, see *Linsted, B.*
Owen, Lewis, bishop of Casana, III. 548. ii. 548.
Oxford, John Vere, fifteenth earl of, I. 322. II. ii. 66. III. 167. sat on the trial of queen Anne Boleyn and lord Rochford, I. 323. one of Henry VIII's privy council, 371.
Oxford, John Vere, sixteenth earl of, son of the preceding, II. 328. III. 418, 420. informs against some who were suspected of heresy in the time of queen Mary, II. 502. assists at their execution, for which he receives the thanks of the council, *ibid.* III. 421.
Oxford, see of, founded out of the abbey of Oseney, I. 476. ii. 581.
Oxford, university of, a convocation there condemned Wyckliffe for disallowing the prohibition of certain degrees of marriage, I. 169. the university wrote to pope Martin V to mitigate his displeasure against archbishop Chichely, 188. the university refers the point of Henry VIII's marriage with his brother's widow to a committee of thirty-three doctors and bachelors of divinity, 148. ii. 557. they determine the marriage of the brother's wife to be both contrary to the laws of God and nature, I. 148. Wood's account of the business corrected, *ibid.* 149. why opposed, 149. the king's letters to the university about his divorce, III. 145, 147, 148. ii. 36, 37, 38. the university exempted from paying the subsidy, 1531, III. 170. the king's application to the university concerning the power and primacy of the bishop of Rome, and whether he had any jurisdiction in England, I. 294. III. 187. they unanimously agree that he has no greater jurisdiction given him by God in this kingdom than any other foreign bishop, *ibid.* I. ii. 78. a public disputation there between Peter Martyr and others respecting Christ's presence in the sacrament, II. 195, 196. Martyr's letter to Bullinger on the state of the university, III. 360. ii. 292. disputation concerning the sacrament with certain members of the convocation, against Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, II. 451, 452. censures passed upon it, 455. visitation of the university by order of cardinal Pole, 554. Peter Martyr's wife's body, that lay buried in one of the churches, taken up, *ibid.* the greatest part of the university put their hands to four out of five articles of the lower house of convocation in favour of the old religion, 614. cardinal Wolsey founded a college there, I. 54, 55. finished, 105. a di-

vinity professorship founded there by Margaret countess of Richmond, 555. probably at bishop Fisher's suggestion, *ibid.* certain professorships there founded by Henry VIII, ii. 581.
Oxford, vice-chancellor of, see *Smith, R.*
Oxfordshire, a rising in, dispersed by lord Grey, II. 209.
Oyselle, de, —, II. 568.

P.

Pace, Richard, I. ii. 296. III. 226, 227. ii. 12, 13. dean of St. Paul's, one of Henry VIII's ambassadors at Rome, III. 80. his letter to the king about his divorce, 24, 105. Le Grand's perversion of it, 25. the king's despatch to him about the emperor's motion of renewing his friendship, 227.
Pacheco, cardinal, II. ii. 478.
Pacheco, Francisco, II. ii. 479.
Pachom, St., I. 300.
Packingham, Patrick, burnt for heresy, temp. queen Mary, II. 509.
Packington, —, an English merchant at Antwerp, I. 262. employed by Tunstall, bishop of London, in the purchase of New Testaments, of Tyndale's translation, *ibid.* a secret favourer of Tyndale, 262.
Padua, governor of, I. 153.
Padua, university of, decided against Henry VIII's marriage with his brother's widow, I. 157. ii. 134, 143, 537. III. 150. considered that the pope could not dispense with divine laws, I. ii. 143, 144.
Page, —, II. ii. 240.
Paget, sir William, afterwards lord, I. 548, 549. ii. 537. II. 41, 42, 54, 66, 115, 238, 240, 242, 246, 294, 305. ii. 29, 54, 425, 590. III. 41, 189–194, 319, 321, 333, 335. one of the clerks of the signet, III. 189, 190. sent by Henry VIII to some northern courts to make known his separation from the see of Rome, and the causes, 190. his instructions, *ibid.* ii. 91. sent ambassador to France, III. 275. his letter to the king about his negotiations with the French admiral relative to a match between the lady Mary and the duke of Orleans, *ibid.* ii. 253. secretary of state, one of Henry VIII's executors and governors to his son and to the kingdom, II. 37. one of Edward VI's council, 59. ii. 143. signed certain orders of the privy council, 132, 136, 146, 192, 242. sent over ambassador extraordinary to the emperor, II. 191. one of the commissioners to make peace with France, ii. 12. made comptroller of the household, which was then thought an advancement from the office of a secretary of state, II. 232. his advice on foreign affairs, *ibid.* sent over to the emperor's court to treat with him, 234. his instructions, ii. 254. an account of his conference with the emperor's ministers, II. 234. ii. 258. the result, II. 236. ii. 263. returns home, II. 236. one of the few who stuck firmly to the protector, 238. as a faithful friend, warned him against his wilfulness and of the storm gathering against him, III. 329. he, Cranmer, and Smith write to the council in his behalf, II. 241. another letter of

theirs about the council's directions, 242. ii. 282. surrendering his comptrollership, is made lord Paget of Beaudesert, II. 257. ii. 12. cited by writ to the higher house of parliament, *ibid.* sent ambassador to France to treat and conclude upon a peace, II. 257. ii. 298. sent to the Tower, as an adherent of the duke of Somerset, II. 306. fined for misdemeanours as chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, 346. why degraded from being a knight of the garter, *ibid.* ii. 69. hated by the duke of Northumberland for his friendship for the duke of Somerset, II. 346. his confession of his frauds as chancellor of the duchy, ii. 76. surrenders his office, *ibid.* his submission, *ibid.* 77. why allowed to tarry in London, 78, 79. his fine diminished, 93. he and the earl of Arundel sent to acquaint queen Mary of the council declaring for her, II. 385. he and lord Hastings sent to conduct cardinal Pole over to England, 468. III. 410. their letter about their interview with the emperor, *ibid.* ii. 356. one of the ambassadors to effect a peace between France and Spain, II. 497. only effected a truce, *ibid.* one of the select committee appointed by king Philip for the regulation of affairs during his absence from England, III. 440. ii. 386.

Pagets, the, one of the noble families raised in the time of Henry VIII, I. ii. 579.

Paleano, duke of, II. ii. 467, 483.

Palermo, archbishop of, II. 545.

Pall, notice of the device of archbishops receiving the pall from Rome set up, in the beginning of the twelfth century, by Paschal II, II. 545.

Pallandus, —, I. 437.

Pallavicini, Sforza, I. 581. II. 567. III. 10. a Jesuit, wrote a History of the council of Trent in answer to father Paul's History, II. 355. its authenticity doubtful, *ibid.* made a cardinal for this work, *ibid.*

Pallavicino, count, slain in battle against the Turks, II. ii. 83.

Palm-Sunday, custom of bearing palms on that day in memory of receiving of Christ into Jerusalem, that we may have the same desire to receive him into our hearts, I. 347. ii. 284.

Palmer, sir Henry, II. ii. 20.

Palmer, sir Thomas, II. 159. in a commission about a division of the debateable ground between England and Scotland, ii. 66. apprehended as an adherent of the duke of Somerset, II. 304. informed against him, and was the person that ruined him, 305, 307. ii. 50, 51, 52, 57. his evidence probably a forgery, as he was discharged, and had a close friendship with the duke of Northumberland, II. 316. sent to the Tower as an adherent of the duke of Northumberland in opposing queen Mary's title to the crown, 386. condemned for his part against queen Mary, 391. beheaded, *ibid.* 392. his behaviour at the block, III. 388, 389. was little pitied as being believed a treacherous conspirator against his former master and friend the duke of Somerset, II. 392.

Palmer, —, taken prisoner in Scotland, II. ii. 7.
Palude, Petrus de, determined that a man might not marry his brother's wife, I. 171. and that the pope could not allow marriages within the prohibited degrees, 173.
Paman, Henry, public orator at Cambridge, attests a true copy of a genuine record of the rites and ceremonies of archbishop Parker's consecration in Lambeth chapel, II. ii. 557.
Panmure family, signed the bond of association upon Mary queen of Scot's resigning the crown in favour of her son, III. 550.
Panormitanus, Abbas, Nicholas de Tudescis, a canonist, wished that it were left to the liberty of the clergy to marry, II. 172. considered the Mosaical prohibition of certain degrees of marriage still binding, I. 171.
Panthaleon, St., prayer to, in which adoration is offered to him, II. ii. 228.
Panton, —, vicar of St. Dunstan's, Canterbury, put in the pillory for seditious words, III. 385.
Papacy, no constitution of the pope's is binding in any church, except it be received by it, I. 233. progress of the papacy from Gregory VII's time, III. 56. its power increased by the holy war, *ibid.* the removal of the popes to Avignon, and the consequent schism, a check to it, *ibid.* the council of Constance in too much haste to heal it, *ibid.* the pragmatic sanction passed in consequence of the quarrel of Eugenius IV with the council of Basle, 58. its regulations, *ibid.* the effects it had, *ibid.* condemned by Pius II, 59. and abrogated by Louis XI, 60. re-established under Charles VIII, but still complained of by the popes, 63. condemned by the council of Lateran, 64. the concordat put in place of it by Francis I, *ibid.* its contents, *ibid.* opposition made to it, 65–76. the pope established his authority in England with great difficulty, I. 182. the encroachment of the papacy, *ibid.* the laws made against it, 182–186. France supported the Avignon popes, England the Roman popes during the schism, 186. pope Martin V's endeavours against the laws in England which were injurious to the papacy, 186–188. are to no purpose, 189. an act of parliament passed against appeals to Rome, 212. an act of parliament restraining the payment of *annates* to the court of Rome, 198, 199. ii. 162. was the foundation of the breach that afterwards followed with Rome, I. 198. what sum was still allowed to be paid to that court by persons presented to bishoprics, 199. the pope's authority gradually disputed against and lessened in England, 228. what publications appeared on the subject, *ibid.* 229. the reasons for rejecting the pope's power, as deduced from them, 229. the arguments for the king's supremacy, from the Old Testament, 234. and the New, *ibid.* and the practices of the primitive church, 235. and from reason, *ibid.* and from the laws of England, 236. the necessity of extirpating the pope's power, from the same, 237, 238. the pope's

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Paphnutius, II. 175. prevented the prohibition of the marriage of priests at the council of Nice, I. ii. 366. II. 171. a different account, I. ii. 387. though unmarried himself, opposed the prohibition of the marriage of the clergy, as an unreasonable yoke, II. 171.

Papists, attended the prayers and sacraments of the English church until forbidden by the pope, at king Philip's instigation, II. 633. why he interfered, *ibid.* Walsingham's letter concerning queen Elizabeth's proceedings against both papists and puritans, 661.

Pare, George van, a Dutchman, accused for saying that *the Father was only God, and that Christ was not very God,* II. 205. condemned in the same manner that Joan of Kent was, *ibid.* ii. 248, 249. burnt at Smithfield, II. 205. some account of him, *ibid.*

Parfew [alias Warton], Robert, bishop of St. Asaph, in a commission to examine the offices of the church, II. 127. his answers to certain questions about the communion, ii. 197, 199, 201, 204, 206, 208, 209, 211, 212. in two commissions to deprive Holgate, archbishop of York, Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, Bird, bishop of Chester, and Bushe, bishop of Bristol, who favoured the reformation, II. 440. ii. 386. made bishop of Hereford, II. 442.

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Paris, faculty of the canon law at, decided that Henry VIII's marriage with his brother's widow was unlawful, and that the pope had no power to dispense in it, I. 158. ii. 137.

Paris, George, II. ii. 63. a practiser between the earl of Desmond and other Irish lords, and the French king, 90. pardoned, *ibid.* why imprisoned in Scotland, *ibid.* 92.

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Parker, Dr., chancellor of Worcester, the burning of Tracy's body committed to him, I. 272.

Parker, Matthew, archbishop of Canterbury, I. 481, 540. II. 108, 280, 445, 523, 600, 612, 625, 626. ii. 502, 505, 513. III. 88, 392, 498, 511, 512, 516, 520, 535. was chaplain to queen Anne Boleyn, II. 301, 602. who charged him with the religious education of her daughter Elizabeth, *ibid.* procures the discharge of Dr. Smith's sureties, 280. ii. 313. Bucer's most intimate friend, II. 282. preaches at his death, *ibid.* ii. 31. one of his executors, II. 282. in a commission to revise the ecclesiastical laws, ii. 64. III. 363. lived privately in England, temp. Queen Mary, II. 544. wrote on the marriage of the clergy, 175. when written and published, *ibid.* designed to be archbishop of Canterbury, 601. III. ii. 416. the moderation of his desires, and his reluctance to accept the archbishopric, II. 601, 602. the queen's regard for him as her tutor, and sir N. Bacon's high esteem for him, the causes of his advancement, 602. his unwillingness to accept the see of Canterbury, 635, 637. letters that passed on the business, *ibid.* ii. 538–551. elected and consecrated, II. 637, 638. III. 499. ii. 450. the fable of the Nag's-head confuted, II. 639. copy of the instrument of his consecration, ii. 553. answer to the objection against its canonicalness, II. 640. archbishop Bramhall wrote in vindication of it, *ibid.* being consecrated himself, consecrates other bishops, 638. Tunstall and Thirlby lived with him in Lambeth, 628. he and Cox were to confer with Jewel and Grindal about the lawfulness of images in churches, III. 496. ii. 443. his letter to Cecil, pressing the filling up the northern sees of York and Durham, III. 501. ii. 453. he recommends Young, bishop of St. David's, for York, and Guest, bishop of Rochester, for Durham, III. 501. ii. 453. recommends Nowel to the convocation of 1561, as prolocutor, III. 511. one of those to whom the *Book of Discipline* was referred by the convocation of 1561, 515. the queen writes to him, not without some acrimony of style, to bring all to an uniformity of public worship, 518. one of those who drew up some rules and orders for uniformity, 519. one of the ecclesiastical commission, *ibid.* he, Grindal, and Horne thought by the opposite party to be too much sharpened in the matter of ecclesiastical habits, 532. ii. 523. the author of the *British Antiquities*, according to Strype, I. 218. III. 451. object of the work, I. 5. a statement therein corrected, 190, 191.

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ibid. the king's death made it abortive, *ibid.* parliament dissolved, 360. first parliament of queen Mary, 1553, 406. great disorder in the elections of the new parliament, *ibid.* a motion for a review of king Edward's laws, *ibid.* dropped, 407. the bill for tonnage and poundage passed, *ibid.* 408. also an act for a declaration of treasons and felonies, and for moderating the severity of some laws respecting them, 407. also two private acts for restoring the wife of the late marquis of Exeter, and for her son, Edward Courtenay, earl of Devonshire, *ibid.* parliament prorogued for three days, *ibid.* passed an act confirming the marriage of Henry VIII with queen Catharine, 408. which was much censured, 409. repealed the laws passed under king Edward VI for religion, 410. an act against those who should molest or disquiet any preacher because of his office, or for any sermon that he might have preached, or disturb him in any part of his divine offices, or should abuse the sacrament, or break crucifixes or altars, *ibid.* a bill against those who did not attend church or sacraments passed the commons, but stopped in the lords, 411. an act passed against unlawful assemblies, *ibid.* the queen's discharge of the subsidy confirmed by another act, 412. the marquis of Northampton's second marriage annulled, *ibid.* an act for the attainder of the duke of Norfolk, I. 545. this act said not to be a true act of parliament, II. 390. an act for declaring his attainder void, 412. I. 546. the attainder of Cranmer and others confirmed, II. 413. the commons, displeased with the proposed marriage with Spain, address the queen not to marry a stranger, 420. the parliament is in consequence dissolved, *ibid.* parliament of 1554, 447. many in the commons bribed by Gardiner, *ibid.* some having two hundred, and some one hundred a-year for giving their voices to the marriage, *ibid.* the regal power asserted to be in a queen as well as a king, *ibid.* the secret reasons for this act, *ibid.* the marquis of Northampton restored in blood, 450. the bishopric of Durham also restored, *ibid.* the attainders of the duke of Suffolk and fifty-eight more concerned in Wiat's rebellion confirmed, *ibid.* a bill for reviving the statutes against Lollardy passed the commons, but laid aside by the lords, *ibid.* the commons intended to revive the statute of the six articles, but it was let fall, as not agreeing with the design at court to take any notice of king Henry's acts, *ibid.* a bill to extirpate erroneous opinions of books laid aside, 450. another bill, against Lollardy in some points, as the eating of flesh in Lent, passed the commons, but was thrown out in the lords, *ibid.* a bill passed in the commons against any molestation to those in possession of abbey lands, 451. why laid aside in the lords, *ibid.* parliament ended, *ibid.* a new parliament, 467. the

king and queen ride in state to it, 468. cardinal Pole's attainder repealed, *ibid.* the cardinal makes a speech to parliament inviting them to a reconciliation with the apostolic see, 69, 470. a conference of both houses upon it, 470. the parliament's petition to be reconciled to the see of Rome, *ibid.* the cardinal's speech, 471. he grants them a full absolution, which they received on their knees, *ibid.* they pass an act repealing all laws against the see of Rome, 472. the laws made by Richard II, Henry IV, and Henry V, against heretics, revived, 475. a bill passed the commons for voiding all leases made by married priests, but is rejected by the lords, *ibid.* an act passed declaring treasons, 476. another, against seditious words, *ibid.* another, against spreading lying reports of any noblemen, judges, or great officers, *ibid.* parliament dissolved, 477. parliament of 1555, its temper towards the queen much changed, 517. opposition made to her having two-fifteenths, *ibid.* she refuses it, *ibid.* an act passed, after much opposition, for suppressing the first-fruits and tenths, and for resigning all impropriations in the queen's gift, 518. the commons reject a bill against the countess of Sussex to take her jointure from her, and declare her children illegitimate, *ibid.* and another, against the duchess of Suffolk and others, who had gone beyond sea, *ibid.* and another, for incapacitating several persons from being justices of the peace, 519. an act passed debarring Bennet Smith of the benefit of clergy, *ibid.* parliament dissolved, 520. parliament of 1558, 576. the abbot of Westminster and prior of St. John of Jerusalem sit in this parliament, *ibid.* a subsidy granted, *ibid.* all Frenchmen ordered to quit the country, 577. the abbot of Westminster's proposal, for his abbey again being made a sanctuary, rejected, *ibid.* the procurers of wilful murder denied the benefit of clergy, *ibid.* sir Ambrose and sir Robert Dudley restored in blood, *ibid.* the countess of Sussex's jointure taken from her for adultery, *ibid.* a bill confirming the queen's letters patents, *ibid.* parliament prorogued, 578. the commons will not agree to a subsidy, 589. they declare Elizabeth queen upon queen Mary's death, 593, 594. dissolved, 594. a new parliament summoned, 601. parliament meets, *ibid.* 604. lord Bacon's speech at its opening, 605. the omission of the title of Supreme Head in the summons decided not to nullify the parliament, *ibid.* the tenths, and first-fruits, and all impropriated benefices which had been surrendered by queen Mary restored to the crown, 608. the commons address the queen to induce her to marry, *ibid.* her answer, *ibid.* the lords concerned in it, *ibid.* the queen's title to the crown recognised, 609. the acts that were passed concerning religion, 610. Dr. Sandy's letter about some proceedings, ii. 505. debates about the act of uniformity, II. 621.

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Parliaments, acts of, passed in the nonage of the sovereign, liable to be repealed by his letters patent, by virtue of an act passed temp. Henry VIII, I. 339.

Parma, see *Milan.*

Parma, duke of, see *Octavio.*

Parpalia, —, sent by pope Pius IV to invite queen Elizabeth to become reconciled to the see of Rome, II. 659. the queen sends him word to stay at Brussels, and not to come over, 660.

Parr, Catharine, I. 536, 538. II. 34. III. 243, 290. as queen dowager, II. ii. 597, 598. widow of lord Latimer, I. 514. married to Henry VIII, *ibid.* a secret favourer of the reformation, *ibid.* 540. one of those to whom the government was committed in the king's absence, 522. a design of the papists against her, 540. Gardiner and Wriothesley try to instigate the king against her, 541. her address in gaining over the king, *ibid.* married to lord Seymour, II. 114. ii. 5. the protector offended at it, II. 114. ii. 5. dies, not without suspicion of poison, II. 181. her *Lamentation of a Sinner* published with a preface by Cecil, 182. understood Latin, 35. king Edward VI wrote to her in that language, *ibid.*

Parr, sir Thomas, see *Parry.*

Parrat, sir John, a defendant at a tilt and tournay, II. ii. 60, 62.

Parry, sir Thomas, one of queen Elizabeth's first privy council, II. 597. of the reformed religion, *ibid.*

Parrys, —, an Irishman, III. 505. ii. 463.

Parson, —, a clerk, had evil opinions touching the sacrament of the altar, III. 320. was maintained by Weldon, a master of the household, and Hobby, gentleman-usher, for which they were sent to the Fleet, *ibid.*

Parsons, Robert, detracts as much as he can from the credit of Fox, the martyrologist, I. 587 note. asserts that Hooper scrupled the oath of supremacy, II. 268.

Parsons, —, was M.A. of Balliol

college, Oxford, in queen Elizabeth's time, I. 571 note. wrote *An Apologie for the Government of the Universitie against King Henry the VIIIth, ibid.* 572.

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Partridge, —, exposed the fraud practised on the people with the crucifix at Boxley in Kent, III. 242. had studied under Bullinger, 252.

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Paschal II, pope, his device of archbishops receiving the pall from Rome, to engage them to a more immediate dependence on that see, II. 544.

Passover, an alteration of the posture of eating the passover sanctioned by our Saviour, an argument for allowing the Christian church the like power in such things, II. 293.

Paston, sir William, one of the commissioners appointed to take the surrender of the chapter of Norwich, III. 378.

Paston, —, a defendant at a tilt and tournay, II. ii. 60.

Pates, Richard, made bishop of Worcester on Heath's translation to York, II. 520. had been designed to be bishop of that see before by Henry VIII upon Latimer's resignation, but being engaged in a correspondence with the pope and cardinal Pole, he fled beyond sea, *ibid.* protested in parliament against the act debarring one Bennet Smith of the benefit of clergy for murder, *ibid.* assists at the consecration of archbishop Pole, 544, 545. present at the convocation of 1559, III. 471. protested in parliament against the bill restoring to the crown the first-fruits and tenths, and all impropriated benefices which had been surrendered by queen Mary, II. 608. against that for annexing the supremacy to the crown, 611. against that about the appointment of bishops, *ibid.* and against that for uniformity, 624. refuses to take the oath of supremacy, 627. imprisoned for a short time, *ibid.* went beyond sea to live, 629.

Paul, St., ordained Timothy and Titus, I. ii. 473. prayer to him, II. ii. 230.

Paul, put out of the see of Constantinople by the emperor Constantine, II. 227.

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Pollard, Richard, one of the visitors sent to examine the abbot of Glastonbury, III. 259. ii. 236.

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Providellus, accounted the greatest canonist in Italy, I. 203. brought from Bologna, and employed by Henry VIII to give counsel in his cause, and plead his excuse from appearing at Rome, *ibid.* ii. 185.

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St. Frideswide's monastery, bull of Pope Clement VII giving authority to cardinal Wolsey to suppress it for the purpose of founding a college in its place, I. 55.

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St. Michael, monastery of, near Kingston-upon-Hull, Carthusians, resignation and suppression of, I. ii. 256.

St. Osith [or Chich], abbey of, Essex, Austin canons, surrendered, I. ii. 250.

St. Oswald [of Nostel, or Nestelhoo], monastery of, in the patronage of the archbishop of York, III. ii. 139. given to the archbishops of York by William Rufus, in exchange for recompense, as well of lands as jurisdiction, taken from them at the coming in of William the Conqueror, 140. archbishop Lee intercedes against its suppression, 141. surrendered, I. ii. 256.

St. Paul's, dean of, 1505–1519, *Colet, J.*; 1545–1553, 1559, *May, W.*; 1560–1601, *Nowell, A.*; 1602–1614, *Overall, J.*

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Slavons, converted in the ninth century, II. 148. Methodius their bishop, *ibid.* allowed by pope John VIII to have the divine offices in their own language, *ibid.*
Sleidan, John, I. 3.
Smalcaldic league, I. 314. account of it, III. 214. copy of the league, ii. 146.
Smeaton, Mark, I. 316, 317, 318, 319, 322, 324. ii. 570. III. 222, 224. a musician, I. 316. much in Anne Boleyn's favour, *ibid.* sent to the Tower, 317. accused the queen, 322. hanged, 329.
Smith, Bennet, hired two persons to kill one Rufford, II. 519. a bill passed in parliament depriving him of the benefit of clergy, 520.
Smith, Dr. Richard, I. 159, 166. II. 283. ii. 373, 445, 599, 600. (as vice-chancellor of Oxford), II. 512. signed a declaration of the functions and divine institution of bishops and priests, I. ii. 340. challenges Peter Martyr to dispute upon Christ's presence in the sacrament, II. 195. gets into trouble, makes the most humble submission to Cranmer, and flies abroad, 196. wrote a book for the celibate of priests, and opposed all the changes that had been made, 280. imprisoned for opposing the reformation, *ibid.* set at liberty, giving surety for his good behaviour, *ibid.* carried himself so obediently after it, that Cranmer got his sureties to be discharged, *ibid.* his letter of thanks to Cranmer, *ibid.* [archbishop Parker], II. 280. ii. 313. had preached a recantation sermon at the beginning of Edward VI's reign, II. 280. ii. 5. the particulars of his recantation, II. 281. reprints his book against the marriage of the clergy, with many additions, temp. queen Mary, 446. disputed at Oxford upon the sacrament against Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, 453, 454. preached at the burning of Ridley and Latimer with as much bitterness as he could express, 512. fled towards Scotland on queen Elizabeth's accession, but is taken on the borders and brought back, III. 492. ii. 434. abjured a fifth time, and then became a violent enemy to the papists, III. 492. ii. 434. was married, III. 493. so despised that he is forced to keep a public-house, *ibid.*
Smith, Robert, burnt for heresy, temp. queen Mary, II. 509.
Smith, sir Clement, II. ii. 33.
Smith, sir Thomas, secretary of state, II. 139, 183, 222, 224, 225, 226, 242, 243, 245, 600, 613. ii. 84, 347, 502, 504. III. 321. in a commission sent to the French king, II. ii. 35. in a commission to search after and examine all anabaptists, heretics, or contemners of the Common Prayer, II. 203. III. 344. a judge on the trial of Joan of Kent, II. ii. 246, 247, 248. in a commission to revise the ecclesiastical laws, III.

362, 363. in a commission to examine certain charges against Bonner, II. 220. protested against by him, and why, 221, 225. one of those who gives sentence against Bonner, 226. one of the few who stuck firmly to the protector, 238. he, Cranmer, and Paget write to the council in Bonner's behalf, 241. another letter of theirs about the council's directions, 242. ii. 282. deprived of his secretaryship and sent to the Tower as an adherent of the protector, II. 243. III. 332. fined three thousand pounds and discharged, II. 260. III. 332. wrote a book in defence of Cheke's system of pronouncing Greek, and did so evidently to confirm Cheke's opinion that it prevailed, II. 218.

Smith, —, concerned in the translation of the Bible, temp. king James, II. 559.

Smithfield, a house for Dominicans, and another for Franciscans, built there by queen Mary, II. 546.

Smithfield, abbey of St. Bartholomew, London, Austin canons, surrendered, I. ii. 252.

Smyth, Nicholas, voted in the convocation of 1562 against certain alterations in divine service, III. ii. 482.

Socrates, author of an Ecclesiastical History, III. ii. 492.

Solicitor-general, 1551, see *Griffith, E.;* and 1553, see *Gosnald, J.*

Soliman the Magnificent, II. 343.

Solomon, king of Israel, expiated his sins by a severe repentance, I. 15. exercised authority in ecclesiastical matters, 234. III. ii. 173.

Solon, I. ii. 347.

Somer, —, III. 508. ii. 472, 473.

Somerset, Anne Stanhope duchess of, II. 115, 327, 328. ii. 597, 598. sent to the Tower, II. 304. ii. 52. set at liberty upon queen Mary's accession, II. 387.

Somerset, Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, duke of, protector, I. 6, 542. II. 11, 22, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 83, 88, 139, 140, 178, 224, 259, 323, 328, 346, 360, 537, 538, 562, 607. ii. 18, 19, 20, 21, 24, 25, 31, 35, 42, 45, 60, 64, 84, 88, 94, 136, 164, 166, 172, 188, 191, 193, 211, 232, 235, 270, 586, 587, 588, 596, 597, 604. III. 319, 321, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 341, 347, 356, 378. (as lord treasurer), II. ii. 23, 28, 48, 54, 55. as lord great chamberlain, II. 261. III. 294, 296. sent with an army into Scotland, I. 521. his success, *ibid.* one of those to whom the government was committed in the king's absence, 522. sent to supersede the earl of Surrey in his command of the English army in France, 534. sent ambassador to expostulate with the emperor for deserting the king in the war with France, III. 288. first made lord Beauchamp, and afterwards earl of Hertford, II. 35. lord great chamberlain, one of Henry VIII's executors and governors to his son and to the kingdom, 37. he and sir Anthony Browne sent to acquaint prince Edward of his father's death, *ibid.* ii. 3, 4. emulation between him and lord chancellor Wriothesley, II. 40. set himself at the head of those who desired a more com-

plete reformation, *ibid.* declared lord treasurer and earl marshal, *ibid.* one of Edward VI's privy council, ii. 117. in its committee for matters of state, 119. signed certain orders of the privy council, 132, 136, 146, 148; 192, 242. made duke of Somerset and protector, II. 39, 40, 54. ii. 4. holds his office by patent, II. 58. copy of the commission, ii. 140. observations upon it, II. 59. his council, *ibid.* acts as lord steward at Edward VI's coronation, 55. present at the coronation dinner, ii. 4. knights the king, II. 44. his answer to Gardiner's letter against the pulling down of images, 49. commands the expedition against Scotland, 78, 81. his offers to the Scots, 82. victorious at Pinkey, 83, 84. ii. 6. after his victory might have finished the war by following up his success vigorously, II. 84. assists with his own hands in fortifying Roxburgh castle, 85. his return to England, *ibid.* notice of his former exploits in Scotland and France, *ibid.* leaves the earl of Warwick to treat with Scotland, *ibid.* the lady Mary writes to him against any alteration in religion during the king's minority, 91. his answer, *ibid.* ii. 168. an instance of his being too much lifted up by the distinction he procured in parliament, II. 92. takes out a new commission, wherein he has the power of appointing a substitute in case of absence, 108. offended at his brother's marrying the queen dowager, 114, ii. 5. the differences between him and his brother said to have been inflamed by their wives, II. 115. too easy towards his brother at first, *ibid.* his brother's conduct the cause of his return from Scotland, *ibid.* 116. signed the council's order for Gardiner's imprisonment in the Tower for his opposition to the measures about religion, 138. sent a message to Gardiner requiring him not to meddle with those questions about the sacrament that were yet in controversy among learned men, 140. his letter to Gardiner forbidding him to mention the mass in his sermon before the king, 140. ii. 226. he and others sent to Gardiner in the Tower to see if he repented of his former obstinacy and would apply himself to advance the king's proceedings, III. 334. sent an offer of a ten years' truce to the Scots, II. 158. why obliged to do so, *ibid.* sends his brother with a fleet against Scotland, 160. which is unsuccessful, *ibid.* how he gave offence by taking German lanceknights into his service, 161. III. 329. whom he employed for their known zeal in the cause of the reformation, *ibid.* notice of Calvin's letter to him to go on with the reformation, II. 167. he and Cranmer opposed the raising of bishop Goodrich, being in the popish interest, 311. tries to dissuade his brother from his ambitious designs, 182. his declaration respecting his brother to the king, 184. withdrew when the bill of attaint was passed against him, 185. set his hand to the warrant of execution,

186. ii. 242. much censured by those who only looked at the relation between them for giving way to his brother's execution, II. 187. became popular because he visibly espoused the interest of the people, III. 328. warned by Paget against his wilfulness, and of the storm gathering against him, 329. was much concerned for the commons, and often spoke against the oppression of landlords, II. 207. thereby hated by the nobility and gentry in consequence, *ibid.* issues a proclamation against all new enclosures, 208. and another offering indemnity to the insurgents, *ibid.* issues a general pardon for the insurgents in various parts, though opposed by many of the council, 216. and prevented a general rebellion, *ibid.* his letter to sir Philip Hobby about the rebellions, ii. 250. wrote a chiding letter to Ridley for his conduct in the visitation of Cambridge, II. 217. Ridley's answer and his reply, ii. 347, 351. a great faction against him, II. 232. inclined to deliver up Boulogne for a sum of money, and make peace with France and Scotland, *ibid.* Paget's advice to him on foreign affairs, *ibid.* the advice of Thomas, clerk of the council, different from Paget's, 233. what plan he adopted, *ibid.* the earl of Southampton makes a party against him, 237. and sets the earl of Warwick against him, *ibid.* complaints against him, *ibid.* his building Somerset-house out of the ruins of some bishops' houses and churches a ground of great offence, *ibid.* had had lands granted him for his services in Scotland, *ibid.* proceedings of some of the council against him, ii. 11. Paget, secretary Smith, and Cranmer his only firm friends, II. 239. why Goodrich, bishop of Ely, sided with his enemies, *ibid.* gave offence by often acting without, or contrary to, the council's advice, 238. most of the council separate from him, and meet at Ely-house, 239. their complaints against him, *ibid.* others join them, 240, 241. their letter to the king against him, ii. 273. the city of London joins with them, II. 240. he offers to treat and submit, 241. the articles offered by him, ii. 275. Cranmer, Paget, and secretary Smith write in his behalf to the council, II. 241. another letter from the council to the king against him, ii. 277. another of theirs to Cranmer and Paget, 280. another from Cranmer, Paget, and secretary Smith, about their directions, 282. the council wait upon the king, II. 243. their reception, *ibid.* their articles against him, *ibid.* ii. 283. is sent to the Tower, II. 243. ii. 11. III. 332. notice of censures passed upon him, II. 244. bore his fall with equanimity, *ibid.* Peter Martyr wrote a consolatory letter to him, *ibid.* signs a confession of his errors, 248. ii. 11. liberated, III. 332. fined by parliament and restricted in residence, II. 249. returns to court, ii. 13. restored to favour, and sworn of the privy council, II. 250. ii. 14. III. 333. what thought of his behaviour under disgrace, II. 249. certain of his moveable

goods and leases restored to him, ii. 16. allowed one hundred men-at-arms, 29, 58. in a commission to amend the order of the Garter, II. 345. ii. 35. a witness against bishop Gardiner, II. 285. joined in alliance with the earl of Warwick, by his daughter marrying the earl's eldest son, the lord Lisle, 277. the earl of Warwick's ambitious designs had great influence on his fall, 301. a conspiracy against him, 304, 328. aimed at getting the king again into his power, 304. the earl of Warwick therefore had a mind to get rid of him, *ibid.* apprehended, ii. 51. sent to the Tower, II. 304. ii. 52. the evidence against him, II. 304. ii. 52. ruined by sir Thomas Palmer, II. 305. ii. 51. the king possessed against him, II. 305, 309. is brought to trial, 306. the lord treasurer appointed high steward at his trial, ii. 56. the witnesses swear to their confessions against him, 57. his trial, *ibid.* the peers who formed the jury, *ibid.* his defence, II. 307. acquitted of treason, but found guilty of felony, 308. conducted himself with patience and temper on his trial, *ibid.* some of his friends also condemned, 309. probable cause of the delay of his execution, III. 365. his speech at his execution, II. 313. cause of an interruption in its delivery, 314. is beheaded, 313, 315. ii. 63. his character, II. 315. his faults, 11, 12. the principal charge against him supposed to be a forgery, 316. the people much affected at his execution, *ibid.* some reflections on the other side, *ibid.* the entail of his estate repealed by act of parliament, 327. why, *ibid.* much opposed in the house of commons, 328. who reject a proviso confirming his attainder, *ibid.* also another bill to set aside an intended marriage of his son with the earl of Oxford's daughter, *ibid.* long accusation of him in the preamble to a bill granting the king a subsidy, 358, 360.

Somerset-house, built by the duke of Somerset out of the ruins of some bishops' houses and churches, II. 237.

Somervile, lord, dissented in the Scotch parliament from the acts for the reformation, II. 654.

Somerville, lord, taken prisoner by the English, I. 505.

Somner, William, his *Antiquities of Canterbury*, I. 388, 392.

Sonds, —, II. ii. 546.

Sorbonne, college of, decided against the validity of Henry VIII's marriage with his brother's widow, I. 158. ii. 136. III. 138–145. with their proceedings on the subject, *ibid.* their conclusions looked upon for some ages as little inferior to the decrees of councils, I. 158.

Soreby, —, voted in the convocation of 1562 for certain alterations in divine service, III. ii. 482.

Soto, Petrus à, confessor to Charles V, II. ii. 612, 613. III. 406, 473. ii. 405.

Souch, see *Zouch.*

Soul-masses, examined into, II. 52. their true origin thought to have been only to increase the esteem and wealth of the clergy, 53.

Soulby, abbey of, Northamptonshire, Præmonstratensians, surrendered, I. ii. 238.
Soules, William de, signed the letter to the pope about the independence of Scotland, II. ii. 157.
Souls departed, see *Prayer for departed souls.*
Southampton, appointed for the see of a suffragan bishop, I. 259. project of making a mart there, II. ii. 67, 110.
Southampton, Thomas Wriothesley earl of, lord chancellor, I. 536, 545. II. 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 54, 241, 260. ii. 136, 137, 167, 586, 587. made lord keeper on lord Audley's illness, III. 285. and lord chancellor on his death, *ibid.* I. 522. had been secretary, and was of the popish party, 522. one of those to whom the government was committed in the king's absence, *ibid.* Fox's story, of his racking Anne Askew with his own hands, scarce credible, 537. he and Gardiner try to instigate the king against queen Catharine Parr, 541. but their design miscarried, 542. one of Henry VIII's executors and governors to his son and to the kingdom, II. 37. opposed the appointment of a protector, and why, 38. emulation between him and the protector, 40. headed the party who desired a more complete reformation in religion, *ibid.* signed certain orders of the privy council, ii. 132, 136, 242. created earl of Southampton, II. 54. executes a commission appointing deputies for his office, 55, 56. copy of the commission, with the judges' opinions against its legality, ii. 137. the decision of the council against him, depriving him of his office, II. 56, 57. how they kept him from acting as one of the late king's executors, 57, 58. signs the warrant for lord Seymour's committal to the Tower, 183. one of those appointed to examine the charges against him, *ibid.* he and others sent to lord Seymour to bring him to a submission, 185. although brought into the council, did not lay down his hatred against the protector, 237. forms a party against him, *ibid.* gains over the earl of Warwick, *ibid.* he and most of the council separate from the protector, and meet at Ely-house, 239. entirely in the popish interest, 245. left the court in great discontent upon the earl of Warwick's falling off from the popish party, 246. plots against the earl of Warwick, *ibid.* detected, *ibid.* poisons himself, or pined away with discontent, *ibid.* his death, *ibid.* ii. 25. Tichfield, his house, 82.
Southampton, William Fitz-William earl of, I. 446, 450. as lord admiral, 565. III. 261. ii. 239. sent to Calais to bring over Anne of Cleves, I. 435. Cromwell having no great kindness for him, tries to throw blame upon him for bringing her over, *ibid.* one of those sent to examine queen Catharine Howard about her ill conduct, 494.
Southesk, Carnegy earl of, III. 550.
Southwark, hospital of St. Thomas, surrendered, I. 430. ii. 252.
Southwark, monastery of St. Mary-Overhay, Austin canons, surrendered, I. ii. 256.

Southwell, sir Richard, I. 543. II. 579. III. 378, 429. empowered to visit certain monasteries, I. 296. one of the witnesses against the duke of Norfolk, III. 297. was a privy councillor to king Henry, king Edward, and queen Mary, *ibid.* one of the privy council appointed by Henry VIII's will to assist his executors, II. 38. one of Edward VI's council, 59. ii. 143. signed certain letters and orders of the privy council, 274, 301. he and most of the council separate from the protector, and meet at Ely-house, II. 239. one of the chief contrivers of the protector's fall, 260. imprisoned in the Fleet for dispersing seditious bills, *ibid.* committed to the Tower for certain bills of sedition written with his own hand, and fined five hundred pounds, ii. 12.

Southwell, sir Robert, II. ii. 308. III. 297. empowered to visit certain monasteries, I. 296. master of the rolls in the time of Henry VIII, II. 55. ii. 137. III. 297. brother of the preceding, III. 297.

Southwick [or Portchester], abbey of, Hampshire, Austin canons, surrendered, I. 234.

Spain, Christianity said to have been planted there by Martialis, II. ii. 519. conquers Navarre, I. 24. lost by its dominions lying so remote from the chief seat of government, II. 350. Wolsey's letter to Henry VIII, in which he sets forth the low state of the affairs of Spain in Italy, III. 79. rigour of the Inquisition there, II. 555. managed by Dominicans, *ibid.* its establishment against the Moors, *ibid.* a truce between it and France meditated by England, 549. broken by Paul IV, *ibid.* who absolves the French king from his oath, III. 443.

Spain, king of, see *Philip, king.*

Spalatin, —, secretary to the elector of Saxony. III. 193.

Spalding, —, concerned in the translation of the Bible, temp. king James I, II. ii. 559.

Sparcheford, Richard, signed as a member of convocation the articles of 1536, I. ii. 289.

Sparrow, Anthony, bishop of Norwich, II. 76, 273.

Speed, John, I. 5, 311, 424. II. 34 note.

Spelman, sir Henry, judge, I. 50, 217, 315, 322, 325, 326, 329, 554, 557.

Spencer, John, master of Corpus Christi college, Cambridge, II. 108. certifies that a writing, being a narrative of archbishop Parker's consecration in Lambeth chapel, is faithfully transcribed from the original record in C. C. C. library, ii. 558. concerned in the translation of the Bible, temp. king James, 560.

Spencer, Milo, signed as a member of convocation the articles of 1536, I. ii. 288.

Spenser, Miles, III. ii. 301.

Spenser, —, voted in the convocation of 1562 for certain alterations in divine service, III. ii. 481.

Spinola, —, II. 214. ii. 9.

Spire, diet of, II. 61. its edict, that till there was a free council in Germany, or such an assembly in which matters of religion might be settled, there should be a general peace and none troubled for religion, *ibid.*

Spiridion, I. ii. 366.
Spirit of the wall, notice of the imposture so called, II. 439. See *Croft, Elizabeth.*
Spotswood, John, archbishop of St. Andrew's, I. 483, 525. III. 10, 488, 489, 540, 551.
Springham, —, III. ii. 397.
Stafford, abbey of, Austin canons, surrendered, I. ii. 240.
Stafford, Henry lord, sat on the trial of the duke of Somerset, II. 306. ii. 57. dissented in parliament from the Act of Uniformity, II. 624. ii. 618. and from that declaring the deprivation of certain popish bishops in king Edward's time to have been good, II. 624, 625.
Stafford, John, bishop of Bath and Wells, I. ii. 159.
Stafford, sir Robert, concerned in a Christmas sport, II. ii. 61.
Stafford, sir William, appointed to attend the lord admiral in an embassy to France, II. ii. 50. a defendant at a tilt and tournay, 60.
Stafford, Thomas, seizes the castle of Scarborough, II. 563. publishes a manifesto, declaring that queen Mary by bringing in the Spaniards had fallen from her right to the kingdom, *ibid.* declares himself protector, *ibid.* executed as a traitor, *ibid.*
Stair, family of, III. 550.
Stamford, abbeys of, Lincolnshire, Austin Friars, Dominicans, Carmelites, and Franciscans, surrendered, I. ii. 239.
Stamford, Gray and White Friars of, their manner of surrendering their house, I. 378.
Stamford, William, in a commission to revise the ecclesiastical laws, II. ii. 64. III. 563. made sergeant-at-law, II. ii. 71.
Stamphius [or Stumph], —, III. ii. 485, 488.
Standish, Henry, I. 40, 45. as bishop of St. Asaph, III. 165, 170. guardian of the mendicant friars in London, I. 39. argued for the restriction of the *benefit of clergy* in a hearing before Henry VIII against Richard Kyderminster the abbot of Winchcombe, *ibid.* proceedings against him in consequence in the convocation, 43. claimed the king's protection, *ibid.* who gives the matter a hearing, 44. articles against him, *ibid.* the proceedings against him ordered by the king to be set aside, 48. (as bishop of St. Asaph), approved of Henry VIII's scruples about his first marriage, III. 108. one of queen Catharine's council in the trial about her divorce before the pope's legates, I. 129. assisted at the consecration of archbishop Cranmer, 215.
Stanhope, sir Michael, II. ii. 225. restrained to his chamber as an adherent of the protector till the matter was examined, II. 243. III. 332. fined and discharged, II. 260. III. 332. imprisoned in the Tower as one of the principal instruments of the ill government of the duke of Somerset, II. 243, 304. ii. 52, 54. tried and condemned, II. 309. why little pitied, *ibid.* beheaded, 310, 316.
Stanhope, —, II. ii. 61, 241.
Stanley, Thomas abbot of, signed as a member of convocation the articles of 1536, I. ii. 287.
Stanton, —, accused of having engaged in a design to rob the

exchequer of fifty thousand pounds, II. 521. executed, *ibid.*

Staphileus, dean of the rota, I. 91. ii. 29, 30, 38, 552. sent from England to Rome with instructions about Henry VIII's divorce, I. 96. promotes it as much as he can, 101. his letter to Wolsey on the subject, ii. 57. was a bishop, not dean of the rota, I. 96 note. did not promote, but hindered the king's business all he could, 101 note.

State-paper Office, set up by the earl of Salisbury, secretary of state in king James's time, II. 217. See *Paper-office.*

Steeples, it was a custom on some holydays for the quire to go up to the steeple to sing the anthems, II. 444.

Stella, Francesco, III. ii. 337.

Stephen, pope, St. Cyprian would not submit to his definition in the point of rebaptizing heretics, I. 230.

Sterkey, Dr., one of Henry VIII's legal counsellors in the matter of his divorce from queen Catharine, I. 219.

Stevenache, see *Boreman.*

Stevens, Dr., see *Gardiner, S.*

Steward, Edmund, signed as a member of convocation the articles of 1536, I. ii. 288.

Steward, Robert, dean of Ely, assisted at the condemnation of certain heretics, II. 510.

Stewart of Ochiltree, made a peer, III. 479. signed a memorial against the queen regent's government in Scotland, 488. ii. 424. and the bond of association with England, III. 492. and the instructions for an embassy to queen Elizabeth, 506. and the bond upon the resignation of Mary queen of Scots, 550. ii. 551.

Stewart, James, son of the earl of Athol, signed a memorial against the queen regent's government in Scotland, III. ii. 424.

Stewart, lord James, see *Murray, earl of.*

Stewart, Robert, bishop of Caithness, brother of the earl of Lennox, gained over by Henry VIII to his interest, III. 286. the terms, *ibid.*

Stewart, William, bishop of Aberdeen, III. 211. ii. 144. one of the council to assist the earl of Arran, governor of Scotland, III. 478.

Stillingfleet, Edward, dean of St. Paul's, afterwards bishop of Worcester, I. 8. ii. 335, 443, 520. II. ii. 171, 172, 183, 197. III. 11, 18, 19, 306, 307. encomium of his writings in defence of the church of England, I. ii. 584. bishop Burnet submitted his *History of the Reformation* in MS. to his censure, II. 4. III. 19.

Stillyard, London, the free towns of Germany had a corporation there granted by Henry III, II. 347. brought into some trouble in Edward IV's reign for carrying their privileges farther than their charter allowed them, *ibid.* their trade, *ibid.* 348. their charter declared to be broken and the company dissolved, temp. Edward VI, 348. ii. 65.

Stixwould, Lincolnshire, I. 358 note.

Stokesley, John, bishop of London, I. 158, 212, 215, 238, 243, 272, 279, 294, 296, 347. ii. 561, 567. III. 167, 170. made bishop of London, I.

152. he and the earl of Wiltshire sent as ambassadors to the pope and emperor about Henry VIII's divorce, *ibid.* tries to induce the London clergy to pay part of a fine, imposed on those who had not conformed to the statute of provisors, 193, 194. maintained in the convocation that the marrying a brother's wife was contrary to the law of God, and indispensable by the pope, 216. concerned in the proceedings for pronouncing the sentence of divorce between the king and queen Catharine, 219. he and bishop Tunstall wrote a letter to Pole in defence of the king's proceedings about the pope's authority in England, 229. present at the parliament of 1534, 238. sentenced Tewksbury to be burnt as an heretic, 270. his observation on the suppression of the lesser monasteries, 311. his answer to Alexander Alesse's speech in convocation about the sacraments, in which Alesse enlarged himself much to convince them that only baptism and the Lord's supper were instituted by Christ, 342. shewed himself better acquainted with the learning of the schools and the canon law than with the gospel, *ibid.* opposed the reformation and was against all change, *ibid.* signed as a member of convocation the articles of 1536, ii. 286. signed a declaration of the functions and divine institution of bishops and priests, 340. and the judgment of the convocation respecting general councils, 302. he and Tunstall wrote a learned letter to Pole in defence of the king's actions, I. 355. signed the judgment of certain bishops concerning the king's supremacy, ii. 335. has a pardon for having acted by commission from Rome and sued out bulls from thence, thereby incurring a *præmunire*, I. 400. III. 209, 210. his argument at Lambert's trial, I. 403, 404. supported the six articles in parliament, III. 255. ii. 233. his and Cranmer's answers to certain queries concerning confirmation, I. 347. ii. 296. refused to assist in a translation of the New Testament, III. 283. his death, I. 409. III. 267.

Story, John, imprisoned for railing at the changes that were made in religious matters, III. 500. one of the royal commissioners at Cranmer's trial, II. 531. in a commission for a severer way of proceeding against heretics, 556. ii. 469. member of the house of commons, opposed the English service-book, II. 517. what notice taken of it, *ibid.* opposed all licences from Rome, temp. queen Mary, *ibid.* confesses his fault and is forgiven, *ibid.* condemned for treason in queen Elizabeth's reign, *ibid.* ii. 601.

Stourton, William lord, dissented in parliament from the act for the destruction of the old service-books, II. 250. one of the peers on the duke of Somerset's trial, 306. ii. 57. dissented in parliament from the act for bringing men to divine service, II. 321. from that for the marriage of the clergy, 324. from that confirming the marquis of Northampton's marriage, 325. and from that

for attainting bishop Tunstall, 329. an account of his execution for the murder of one Argall and his son, 561. another and different account of this matter, III. 448. a popular story of the queen's reprieve for him being evaded, *ibid.* had been a most zealous papist all the time of king Edward VI, II. 561.
Stow, John, I. 5, 87, 210, 250, 253. ii. 549. II. 34.
Stradling, sir Thomas, in a commission for a severer way of proceeding against heretics, II. 556. ii. 469.
Straheryne, Malisius earl of, signed the letter to the pope about the independence of Scotland, II. ii. 157.
Straiton, David, charged with denying the pope's authority in Scotland, and saying there was no purgatory, I. 487, 488. burnt as an heretic, 488.
Strange, lord, II. ii. 19, 54. an English hostage for peace with France, II. 259. ii. 13.
Straodley, —, committed to the Tower as an adherent of the duke of Somerset, II. ii. 55.
Strasburg, tumults there against those that set up the mass, II. 278.
Stratford, abbot of, see *Huddleston, W.*
Stratford, John, archbishop of Canterbury, his Constitutions, III. 86.
Stratford-Langthorne, abbey of, Essex, Cistercians, surrendered, I. ii. 234.
Stratoun, Alexander de, signed the letter to the pope about the independence of Scotland, II. ii. 157.
Strete, Richard, archdeacon of Derby, signed as a member of convocation the articles of 1536, I. ii. 288.
Stretton, Robert, bishop of Lichfield, judgment given against him at law that he should go to the *great devil*, I. 47.
Strossy, Peter, II. ii. 43, 45, 91.
Strozzi, Leo, II. 79.
Strype, John, III. 4, 156, 188, 230, 270, 271, 284, 298, 325, 326, 363, 364, 376, 451, 452, 465, 476, 515, 520. encomium of him, 14.
Stuard, —, II. ii. 36.
Studley, convent of St. Mary, Oxfordshire, Benedictine nuns, new founded and preserved from the dissolution of lesser monasteries, I. ii. 229. surrendered, 252.
Stukley, —, II. ii. 84, 85, 87, 88, 115.
Stumph, see *Stamphius.*
Stumphius, Joannes, III. ii. 287, 294.
Sturley, sir Nicholas, appointed captain of the new fort at Berwick, II. ii. 87. resigns the wardenship of the cast marches in the north, 84.
Sturmius, Joannes, I. 406.
Style, Anthony, notary public, III. ii. 373.
Subsidy granted by convocation to Henry VIII, through Wolsey's means, I. 53. the preamble, ii. 11. one intended for peopling the English side of the marches between England and Scotland, I. 206. another granted, 1534, 260. when granted, usually produced a general pardon from the king, *ibid.* others granted by the clergy and laity, 452. II. 189, 358, 625. ii. 7.
Succession to the crown after Henry VIII, act about, I. 519. Edward VI's device for

the succession to the English throne, III. ii. 305. the council's original subscription to his limitation of the crown, 307.
Suffolk, Charles Brandon duke of, I. 79, 136, 138, 140, 159, 366, 424, 446, 487, 540, 548, 555. ii. 100, 425, 535, 537. II. 301, 302, 381. ii. 64, 75. III. 123, 296. ii. 277. Henry VIII's chief favourite in his pleasures, I. 33. made viscount Lisle and duke of Suffolk, *ibid.* married lady Mary the king's sister, and widow of Louis XII king of France, *ibid.* a better courtier than statesman, 34. an enemy to Wolsey, III. 119, 123. sat on the trial of queen Anne Boleyn and lord Rochford, I. 322, 323. present at the queen's execution, 329. sent against the rebels in Lincolnshire, 363, 364. quiets them, 365. one of Henry VIII's privy council, 371. present at the christening of Edward VI, II. ii. 3. stood godfather to him, II. 34; at his confirmation, not at his baptism, *ibid.* intercedes for those condemned upon the act of the six articles, I. 427. one of those sent to examine queen Catharine Howard about her ill conduct, 494. his death, 524, 540. Cranmer's great friend at court, 524. favoured the reformation as far as could consist with his interests at court, which he never endangered on any account, *ibid.* his various wives, II. 301, 302.
Suffolk, Charles Brandon duke of, son of the preceding, II. ii. 19. an English hostage for peace with France, II. 259. ii. 13. died of the sweating sickness, ii. 302. his death lamented by Peter Martyr, who looked upon him as the most promising of all the youth in the nation, next to the king himself, III. 361.
Suffolk, Henry Brandon, brother of the preceding, died of the sweating sickness, II. 302.
Suffolk, duchess of, I. 537.
Suffolk, Frances Brandon duchess of, II. 301, 368, 380. ii. 360, 361. III. 445. married Mr. Bertie, 428. went beyond sea, temp. queen Mary, *ibid.* a bill requiring her to return from beyond sea under pain of severe punishment thrown out of the house of commons, II. 518, 519. persecuted in the Netherlands, 519. narrowly escaped, *ibid.*
Suffolk, Henry Grey, marquis of Dorset, duke of, I. 82, 86. II. 368, 381, 383, 385, 436, 516. ii. 29, 34, 54, 60, 72, 360, 597. married Frances, daughter of Brandon duke of Suffolk, II. 302. III. 361. had three daughters by her, 361. acts as lord constable at Edward VI's coronation, II. 55. one of Edward VI's privy council, ii. 117. in its committee for matters of state, 119. signed certain letters and orders of the privy council, 288, 301. appointed warden of the north borders, 31. surrenders his wardenship, and why, 49. made duke of Suffolk, II. 304. ii. 50. III. 361. one of the peers on the duke of Somerset's trial, II. 306. ii. 57. allowed one hundred men-at-arms, 60. signed Edward VI's limitation of the crown, III. ii. 308. he and the duke of

Northumberland waited on lady Jane Grey to acquaint her she was queen, on Edward VI's death, II. 377. signed the council's letter to the lady Mary to acquaint her of it, 379. delivers up the Tower for queen Mary, 386. sent as a prisoner there, 438 note. set at liberty again, not being feared, for his weakness, 386. enters into a conspiracy, in consequence of the queen's intended marriage with Philip of Spain, 431. his mean spiritedness, 432. betrayed, and taken to the Tower, *ibid.* tried, condemned, and executed, 437. his attainder confirmed by parliament, 450. commended by Hooper for his regard for the reformation, III. 351.

Suffolk, John de la Pole earl of, attainted by Henry VIII in obedience to his father's commands, I. 292.

Suffolk-place, went to the crown on the duke of Suffolk's attainder, II. 516. given by queen Mary to the see of York in lieu of Whitehall, *ibid.* 517. sold by archbishop Heath, who bought another house instead, 517.

Suffragan bishops, an act passed respecting, I. 259. common in England before, 260. what towns appointed for their sees, 259. how they were to be appointed, *ibid.* and with what power, *ibid.* a mandate for the consecration of a suffragan bishop, ii. 205. believed to be the same as the Chorepiscopi in the primitive church, I. 259. had a limited jurisdiction, but were of the same order as other bishops, II. 641.

Sulby, see *Selby.*

Sulpitius, I. 300.

Summers, —, II. 513.

Sunderland, Robert Spencer earl of, secretary of state, II. 217.

Superstition, Jewel's account of its great progress in queen Mary's reign, III. 492. ii. 433.

Superantio, —, Venetian ambassador, II. ii. 38.

Supremacy of the king, arguments in favour of, I. 234. from the Old Testament, *ibid.* and the New, *ibid.* and the practices of the primitive church, 235. and from reason, *ibid.* and from the laws of England, 236. argument from the necessity of extirpating the pope's power, 238, 239. the qualification of this supremacy, 237. great pains taken to satisfy bishop Fisher on the subject, 238. the king's supremacy declared and confirmed by act of parliament, 258. sworn to by the bishops, 293. and submitted to by most of the regular clergy, 294. the Franciscan friars at Richmond refuse it, *ibid.* the university of Oxford determines against the pope's supremacy, *ibid.* the judgment of certain bishops concerning it, 394. ii. 335. annexed again to the crown by act of parliament, II. 610. the bishops oppose it, 612. what peers dissented from the act, ii. 618. the oath of supremacy refused by the bishops, II. 626. an injunction explaining in what sense it was assumed by the queen, 632. observation upon it, 633. See *Oath.*

Supreme head of the church of England, Henry VIII acknowledged as such by the convocation of 1531, in so far as

was lawful by the laws of Christ, I. 190, 191. the title annexed to the crown by act of parliament, III. 202.
Surle, —, II. 251.
Surrey, earthquake in, II. ii. 37.
Surrey, earl of, see *Norfolk, duke of.*
Surrey, Henry Howard earl of, I. 543. II. 41, 316. unsuccessful in his command of the English army in France, I. 534. superseded by the earl of Hertford, *ibid.* let fall some words of high resentment in consequence, which not long after wrought his ruin, *ibid.* son of the duke of Norfolk, 542. his character, *ibid.* committed to the Tower, and why, 543. III. 293. ii. 271. condemned for treason, and executed, I. 544. the blame charged upon the Seymours, *ibid.* the act generally condemned, *ibid.*
Sussex, Elizabeth Howard countess of, left her husband and lived in adultery in France, II. 518. a bill to deprive her of her jointure and bastardise her children thrown out of the house of commons, *ibid.* her jointure taken away for adultery, by act of parliament, 577. returns to England, III. 499. had been for some years separated from her husband, *ibid.* why sent to the Fleet, *ibid.*
Sussex, Henry Ratcliffe, second earl of, II. 463, 500. ii. 53. III. 389, 399. he and the earl of Huntingdon conducted the protector to the Tower, II. 244. one of the peers on the duke of Somerset's trial, 306. ii. 57. dissented in parliament from a bill against simony, II. 327. raises forces in support of queen Mary's title to the crown, 382, 383. did the most considerable service to queen Mary in obtaining the crown, 404. allowed in consequence to cover his head in her presence, *ibid.* 405. in high favour with the queen, III. 33. proposed that heretics should be proceeded against by martial law, *ibid.* 446. acted with a superlative measure of zeal against them, 33, 34, 427. the queen's letter to him to take care of the elections to parliament, ii. 313. his wife separated from him, III. 449. his death, 452.
Sussex, Robert Ratcliffe, first earl of, I. 322. sat on the trial of queen Anne Boleyn and lord Rochford, 323. one of Henry VIII's privy council, 371.
Sussex, Thomas Ratcliffe, third earl of, II. 660. III. 441, 446, 447. was deputy of Ireland at his father's death, 452. has a new patent for his title, *ibid.*
Sutherland, John, fourteenth earl of, signed the instructions for an embassy to queen Elizabeth, III. 506.
Sutherland, William earl of, signed the letter to the pope about the independence of Scotland, II. ii. 157.
Sweating sickness, notice of, I. 103, 104. II. 302. ii. 41. III. 111.
Sweden, king of, see *Gustavus.*
Swin, or Swina, or Swyna [or Swinhey], Yorkshire, nunnery of, Cistercian, new founded, I. ii. 230. surrendered, 251.
Swinburn, Robert, II. 553. as proctor of the University of Cambridge, one of those ap-

pointed to answer in its name the question relative to Henry VIII's first marriage, III. ii. 30. turned out of his headship of Clare hall, Cambridge, II. ii. 589.
Swinhey, see *Swin.*
Sylverius, pope, the son of Hormisdas, I. ii. 366.
Sydenham, sir John, III. 386.
Symmachus, pope, decreed against the alienation of church lands, III. 425. ii. 2.
Symonds, Hugh, vicar in Coventry, III. 385. imprisoned for a wish he had uttered, that they were hanged that said mass, 386.
Symon, see *Simon.*
Symonds [or Symmons], Dr. Matthew, one of those appointed to draw up the *Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man*, I. 438, 439, 455. his resolutions of some questions respecting sacraments, ii. 445–467. bishops and priests, 470–487. confession, 488. excommunication, 493. and extreme unction, 496.
Symmons, see *Symonds.*
Synesius, when ordained priest declared that he would not live secretly with his wife, as some did, II. 171.
Synod, national, held by cardinal Pole, notice of it, III. 443.

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Tabia, Joannes de, determined that a man might not marry his brother's wife, I. 171. and that the pope could not allow marriages within the prohibited degrees, 173.
Tacitus, the practices of those called *delatores* set out by him as the greatest abuse of power that ever was practised by the ill emperors that succeeded Augustus, II. 499.
Tago, the carrying it up a hill near Toledo first designed by Charles V, II. 530.
Tailer, John, clerk of the parliament, and speaker of the lower house of convocation, I. 40.
Taille, mons. de, II. ii. 78.
Talarus, father of pope Adrian II, I. ii. 366.
Talbot, lord, an hostage for the peace with France, II. ii. 13.
Talbot, sir John, II. 486.
Tallow, proclamation against its exportation, II. ii. 27.
Tamar, married two sons of Judah, I. 176, 179.
Tame, see *Thame.*
Tamesino, city of, in Transylvania, taken by the Turks, II. ii. 83.
Tankerfield, see *Tankervil.*
Tankervil, or Tankerfield, George, burnt for heresy, temp. queen Mary, II. 509.
Tanner, Dr. Thomas, chancellor of Norwich, III. 259, 373, 393, 414, 415, 433. ii. 234, 236, 302, 369, 373, 375, 380.
Tarbes, bishop of, see *Grammont, cardinal.*
Tarent, Dorsetshire, nunnery of, [Cistercian], surrendered, I. ii. 427.
Tarentasia, Petrus de, considered the Mosaical prohibition of certain degrees of marriage still binding, I. 171.
Tarraconensis episcopus, maintained the lawfulness of the marriage of priests in Spain, against the bishop of Rome, I. ii. 349.
Tate, —, III. ii. 6.
Tate, —, minister of Burnham, III. 243.

Taunton, appointed for the see of a suffragan bishop, I. 259.
Taunton, abbey of, Somersetshire, Austin canons, surrendered, I. ii. 246.
Tavennes, mons. de, II. ii. 65.
Tavistock, abbey of, Devonshire, Benedictines, surrendered, I. ii. 247.
Tavistock, abbot of, summoned to parliament in Henry VIII's reign, I. 429. present at the parliament of 1539, 410. though this is an error according to Dugdale, *ibid.*
Taylor, John, dean and afterwards bishop of Lincoln, I. 402. II. 128. ii. 198. prolocutor of the convocation of 1547, II. 108. in a commission to examine the offices of the church, 127. his answers to certain questions about the communion, ii. 198, 200, 203, 205. supported the marriage of the clergy, II. 175. unmarried himself, *ibid.* in a commission to review and reform the ecclesiastical laws, 331. III. 362, 363. in a fresh commission to prepare the same work, II. ii. 64. III. 363, 364. dean of Lincoln, made bishop of that see, II. 341. ii. 71. attended the first parliament of queen Mary, with the intention of justifying the reformation, II. 406. thrust violently out of the house for refusing to give any reverence to the mass, *ibid.* deprived for heresy, 440, 441. ii. 388.
Taylor, Rowland, parson of Hadley, II. 457. III. 395. openly declared against the mass, II. 486. by violence thrust out of his church, *ibid.* in a commission to revise the ecclesiastical laws, ii. 64. III. 363. sent to prison, init. queen Mary, II. 401, 402. condemned for heresy, 487. burnt at Hadley, *ibid.*
Te Deum laudamus, the hymn beginning, composed by Ambrose, II. 178.
Teken-hill house, built for prince Arthur, I. 35 note.
Templars, what was to become of their lands, I. 419.
Temple, sir William, I. 305.
Tempson, —, a priest, hanged for being concerned in the Devonshire rebellion, II. 215.
Tenths of all ecclesiastical benefices given by parliament to the king, as supreme head of the church, I. 258. the clergy discharged from payment of them by queen Mary, II. 517. an act for the purpose, 518. restored to the crown, init. queen Elizabeth, 608.
Terdonensis episcopus, I. ii. 59.
Teril, sir John, appointed to attend the lord admiral in an embassy to France, II. ii. 50.
Terill, —, a defendant at a tilt and tournay, II. ii. 61.
Terouenne, taken from the French by Henry VIII, I. 24. demolished by him, *ibid.*
Tertullian, I. 230. II. 121, 199, 453, 458, 630. ii. 507. III. 524, 526. ii. 493, 498, 499. considered the Mosaical prohibition of certain degrees of marriage still binding, I. 170. said in express words that the Levitical law against marrying the brother's wife did still oblige Christians, 168. allowed divorce after adultery, and thought it dissolved marriage as much as death did, II. 120. was against the corporal presence, I. 275, 276.
Terys [or Ferys], —, I. ii. 537.

Testornes, reduced, II. ii. 36, 41, 45. proclamation touching the calling them in, 50.
Testwood, Robert, a singing-man, I. 514. one of the leaders of a society at Windsor who favoured the reformation in the time of Henry VIII, *ibid.* burnt as an heretic, 516.
Tewkesbury, abbey of, Benedictines, I. 429. surrendered, ii. 256.
Tewkesbury, abbot of, summoned to parliament in Henry VIII's reign, I. 429. See *Wakeman, J.*
Tewksbury, John, at first abjured, afterwards burnt as an heretic, I. 270. sentence was given against him by Stokesley, bishop of London, in sir Thomas More's house at Chelsea, where he was tried, *ibid.*
Thadeus, —, I. ii. 38, 92, 109, 110. III. ii. 56.
Thame, Oxfordshire, abbey of, Cistercians, [Robertus Kynge abbas,] surrendered, I. ii. 252.
Thame, prior of, a suffragan bishop, I. 260.
Thame, Robert abbot of, signed as a member of convocation the articles of 1536, I. ii. 287.
Theatines, an order of monks so called, set up by cardinal Caraffa, II. 497.
Thelesford, abbey of the Holy Trinity, Warwickshire, surrendered, I. ii. 241.
Themse, —, a member of the house of commons, moves for queen Catharine to be brought back to court, I. 205. gives much offence to Henry VIII thereby, *ibid.*
Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, I. 300. first brought secret penance into a method and under rules, II. 134.
Theodoret, I. 458. II. 424, 426, 427. III. ii. 492. one of the learnedest fathers of his age, II. 200. argued against the Eutychians, 199, 200, 424.
Theodorus, pope, son of Theodorus bishop of Jerusalem, I. ii. 366.
Theodosius, emperor, II. 9. ii. 531, 532. made a law against the painting or graving images of Christ, II. 631.
Theophilus, said the ancient Christians began early to be anointed, II. 155, 156. understood the words of St. Paul, *anointing* and *sealing*, literally, *ibid.*
Theophylact, I. 458. ii. 375.
Thermes, marshal de, II. ii. 43, 44, 45. sent over to command the French forces in Scotland, II. 163. takes Broughty castle, 229. besieges Lauder, 230. sent by the French king to aid duke Octavio of Parma against the pope and imperialists, II. ii. 38. defeated and taken prisoner by count Egmont near Gravelines, II. 586.
Thetford, abbeys of, Norfolk, Austin friars, and Dominicans, and Cluniacs, surrendered, I. ii. 238, 248, 253.
Thetford, John, suffragan bishop of, in the warrant for archbishop Parker's consecration, II. 638.
Thetford, town of, its privilege that none of its inhabitants could be brought into any ecclesiastical court, III. 209. appointed for the see of a suffragan bishop, I. 259.
Thevenot, —, III. 22.
Thevet, André, a French Franciscan friar, wrote an *Universal Cosmography*, I. 330. III. 225. a vain and ignorant plagiary, III. 225. and an au-

thor of no credit, according to Thuanus, I. 330.
Thirlby, Thomas, successively bishop of Westminster, of Norwich, and of Ely, I. ii. 449, 459. II. 123, 168, 396, 510. 540, 604. ii. 476, 618. III. 262, 274, 320, 372, 384, 424, 425, 432. ii. 361, 366, 397. master of St. Thomas's hospital, Southwark, I. 430. surrendered the hospital in order to gain the bishopric of Westminster, *ibid.* a learned and modest man, but of so fickle or cowardly a temper that he turned always with the stream in every change that was made till queen Elizabeth came to the crown, *ibid.* one of the committee appointed by convocation to examine the witnesses respecting the validity of the king's marriage with Anne of Cleves, 447. appointed bishop of Westminster, 502. when consecrated, 455. in a commission to examine Heynes, dean of Exeter, for lewd and seditious preaching, and sowing otherwise many erroneous opinions, III. 269, 270. one of those appointed to draw up the *Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man*, I. 438, 455. his resolutions of some questions respecting sacraments, ii. 449, 459, 460. bishops and priests, 471, 474, 477, 484. confession, 490. excommunication, 493, 494. and extreme unction, 496. one of those sent to examine queen Catharine Howard about her ill conduct, 494. in a commission to inquire into the distribution of certain donations of the king, 533. sent ambassador to the emperor, III. 291. duped by him, 291, 292. his letter about the imprisonment of the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Surrey, 293, 294. ii. 271. in a commission to examine the offices of the church, II. 127. protested in parliament against the act confirming the new liturgy, 176. complied as soon as any change was made, yet secretly opposed every thing while it was safe to do it, III. 330. in a commission to examine and search after all anabaptists, heretics, or contemners of the Common Prayer, II. 203. III. 344. protested in parliament against the act about ordination, II. 248. against the act for the destruction of the old service-books, 250. and against a clause in the act for revision of the ecclesiastical laws, III. 362. translated to the see of Norwich, II. 261. ii. 13. mandate sent to him about certain articles of religion, III. 372. ii. 298. one of Edward VI's privy council, II. ii. 118. in its committee to look to the state of the courts, 120. dissented in parliament from the act for bringing men to divine service, II. 321. and from that confirming the marquis of Northampton's marriage, 325. did not consider that a divorce dissolved the marriage bond, *ibid.* sent ambassador to the emperor, 365. translated to the see of Ely, 442. sent ambassador to Rome, 481. he and Bonner sent to degrade archbishop Cranmer, 533. ii. 453. III. 431. this office forced on him, as he had lived in friendship with the arch-

bishop, II. 533. very inconstant and apt to change, but a gentle and good-natured man, *ibid.* tried to check Bonner's insolence towards Cranmer, *ibid.* his grief in the performance of his office, *ibid.* assists at the consecration of archbishop Pole, 544. one of the select committee appointed by king Philip for the regulation of affairs during his absence from England, III. 440. ii. 386. in a commission for a severer way of proceeding against heretics, II. 556. ii. 469. one of the English plenipotentiaries for a peace between England, France, and Spain, II. 585. III. 461. ii. 394. sent his proxy to the convocation of 1559, III. 471. occasionally absent from the parliament of 1559, II. 608. absent from the passing of the act annexing the supremacy to the crown, 613. was on an embassy at Cambray, *ibid.* note. when he returned to parliament, *ibid.* dissented in parliament from the bill for uniformity, II. 624. his efforts in parliament about the reformation, III. 474. ii. 410. refuses to take the oath of supremacy, II. 626. imprisoned for a short time, 627. lived in Lambeth with archbishop Parker, 628.

Thomas, Francisco, III. ii. 345.

Thomas, sir William, I. 380.

Thomas, William, II. ii. 611. made clerk of the council, 15. his advice respecting foreign affairs, II. 233.

Thomas, William, otherwise Flower or Branch, III. 418.

Thommound, earldom of, given to Donnas, baron of Ebrecan, and his heirs male, II. ii. 61.

Thompson, Giles, dean of Windsor (afterwards bishop of Gloucester), concerned in the translation of the Bible, temp. king James, II. ii. 560.

Thompson, —, concerned in the translation of the Bible, temp. king James, II. ii. 559.

Thomson [or Tomson], Dr., of St. Michael's college, one of those appointed by the university of Cambridge to answer in its name the question relative to Henry VIII's first marriage, I. ii. 132. III. ii. 30.

Thornden, see *Thornton, Richard.*

Thorney, abbot of, summoned to parliament in Henry VIII's reign, I. 429. See *Blythe, R.*

Thornton, Henry VIII's donations for the poor and the highways there, I. 533.

Thornton, castle of, Scotland, taken by the protector Somerset, II. 81.

Thornton, monastery of, Lincolnshire, converted into a collegiate church for a dean and four prebends, I. 481.

Thornton [or Thornden], Richard, suffragan bishop of Dover, I. 518. II. 558. prebendary of Canterbury, concerned in the plot against Cranmer, III. 271, 272. called by Cranmer a fawning hypocritical monk, II. 400. ii. 375. had lived in Cranmer's house and had all his preferments by his favour, III. 271. sets up the mass at Canterbury upon queen Mary's accession, II. 400, 504. had been the most officious and forward in every change of religion, 504. was much despised for it by cardinal Pole, *ibid.* 505.

Thornton, William, abbot of St. Mary's, York, III. ii. 114. present at the parliament of 1539, I. 410. surrenders his abbey, 428.

Throckmorton, —, III. 261. ii. 34, 238. employed by Henry VIII as a spy upon Pole, III. 239. but was more faithful to Pole than to the king, *ibid.*

Throgmorton, Francis, III. ii. 566.

Throgmorton, lady, wife of sir Nicholas, III. 447.

Throgmorton, Michael, attainted of treason, because he had cast off his duty to the king and had subjected himself to the bishop of Rome, I. 563, 564.

Throgmorton, sir John, brother of sir Nicholas, convicted of high treason upon the same evidence as that upon which his brother was acquitted, II. 438. executed, 521.

Throgmorton, sir Nicholas, II. ii. 53. III. 447. tried for rebellion, but acquitted, II. 438. the jury in consequence were severely fined and imprisoned, *ibid.* ambassador in France, III. 507. his letter about Mary queen of Scots refusing to ratify the treaty with England, II. 472.

Thuanus, Jacobus Augustus, I. 330. II. 79, 109, 159, 161, 229, 238, 245. III. 225, 431. a Roman catholic, I. 3. his History of great authority, *ibid.*

Thurgarton, abbey of, Nottinghamshire, Austin canons, surrendered, I. ii. 236.

Thwaites, Edward, concerned in the affair of Elizabeth Barton, the Maid of Kent, I. 251. judged guilty of misprision of treason, *ibid.*

Thynne, sir John, sent to the Tower as an adherent of the protector, II. 243. III. 332. fined and discharged, II. 260. III. 332.

Thyxtell, —, one of those appointed by the university of Cambridge to answer in its name the question relative to Henry VIII's first marriage, I. ii. 132. III. ii. 30.

Tiberio, —, II. ii. 7.

Tichfield, abbey of, Southamptonshire, Præmonstratensians, surrendered, I. ii. 235.

Tichfield, the earl of Southampton's house, II. ii. 82.

Tilby, —, concerned in the northern rebellion, I. 372. routed by the duke of Norfolk, 373.

Tillotson, John, III. 27. dean of Canterbury, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, bishop Burnet submitted his *History of the Reformation* in MS. to his censure, and to that of bishop Stillingfleet, II. 4. III. 19.

Tiltey, abbey of, Essex, Cistercians, surrendered to Henry VIII, I. 307. ii. 232.

Timothy, ordained by St. Paul, I. ii. 473.

Tinmouth, abbey of, Northumberland, Benedictines, surrendered, I. ii. 245.

Tiptoft, earl, chancellor, lost his head for acting upon the king's warrant against law, II. 89. ii. 166.

Tirrell [or Tyrrell], —, III. 221, 398.

Tirwit, lady, III. ii. 277.

Tithes, the maintaining the clergy by tithes came from laws given to the Jews, according to Bullinger, III. 523. ii. 491.

Titus, ordained by St. Paul, I. ii. 473.

Todd, William, archdeacon of Bedford, voted in the convocation of 1562 for certain alterations in divine service, III. ii. 482.
Toge, M. de, II. ii. 78. taken prisoner in Scotland, 7.
Toledo, archbishop of, see *Carranza, B.*
Toledo, council of, declared the obligation of the Mosaical prohibition of certain degrees of marriage, I. 169. decreed that priests should not judge in capital matters, II. 188.
Tomkins, Thomas, a weaver in Shoreditch, burnt for denying the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament, temp. queen Mary, II. 492. Bonner's cruelty to him, 493.
Tomson, Dr., see *Thompson.*
Tongue, Roger, an ecclesiastical visitor in the north, II. ii. 187.
Tonnage and poundage, an act passed for, II. 407, 408. granted queen Elizabeth for life, 625.
Tooly, —, executed for robbery, II. 501. having said something at his execution that savoured of heresy, his dead body was condemned and burnt, *ibid.* 502.
Torr, abbey of, Devonshire, Præmonstratensians, surrendered, I. ii. 246.
Torres, L. de, II. ii. 424.
Torture, orders for its being used at discretion, temp. queen Elizabeth, III. 420.
Toul, taken by the French, II. 356.
Toulouse, counts of, great princes in the south of France, I. 57. ecclesiastical censures proved fatal to them, *ibid.* 58.
Toulouse, county of, the Inquisition first established there, II. 555; for the extirpation of the Albigenses, *ibid.*
Toulouse, university of, decide against Henry VIII's marriage with his brother's widow, I. 159. ii. 140.
Tournay, taken from the French by Henry VIII, I. 24. delivered up again, *ibid.*
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Ware, see *Mare.*
Waren, William, III. ii. 55.
Warham, William, archbishop of Canterbury, I. 30, 46, 49, 52, 75, 130, 175, 190, 204, 211, 248, 258, 402, 405, 574. ii. 7, 196, 197, 546, 558. II. 531. ii. 431. III. 42, 85, 86, 87, 88, 107, 108, 122, 130, 131, 132, 165, 167, 168. as lord chancellor, II. ii. 155. a friend to dean Colet, III. 92. resigned the chancellorship to make room for Wolsey, I. 32, 33. his speeches in parliament as chancellor begun with a text of Scripture, which he expounded and applied to the business they were to go upon, stuffing them with the most fulsome flattery of the king, 33. complained to the king against Wolsey's legantine courts, as encroaching too much on his jurisdiction, 50. hated by Wolsey in consequence, *ibid.* Wolsey's insolence to him about the archbishops' courts, III. 85, 86. his writ for a convocation, I. ii. 8. his proceedings against heretics, I. 62. in great esteem with Henry VII, 73. dissuaded Henry VII from marrying the infanta to his son Henry, after the death of her husband, his son Arthur, 74. approved of the king's scruples about his first marriage, III. 108. ordered bishop Fisher's name to be affixed to the resolution of all the bishops declaring Henry VIII's marriage with Catharine of Arragon unlawful, though he dissented from it, I. 79. the great seal offered to him again on its being taken away from Wolsey, 140. excused himself, being very old and foreseeing great difficulties in the keeping of it, *ibid.* one of queen Catharine's council in the matter of her divorce, III. 116. one of those that signed a public letter to the pope about the king's divorce, I. 164. led away in the business of Elizabeth Barton, the Maid of Kent, so as to give credit to her as a prophetess, 249. he with chancellor More, bishop Tunstall, and many canonists and divines drew up a paper to be read in churches, declaring a translation of the Scriptures to be unnecessary, 263. he and bishop Fisher condemned Hitton to be burnt for bringing

heretical books into the country, 267. his death, 213. III. 169. his character, I. 213. hated Wolsey, *ibid.* was chancellor of the university of Oxford, 574. III. 149. had all along concurred in the king's proceedings, 169. his secret protestation against all the acts passed in parliament to the prejudice of the church, *ibid.* ii. 54.

Warne, Elizabeth, burnt for heresy, temp. queen Mary, II. 509.

Warne, Joan, burnt for heresy, temp. queen Mary, II. 540.

Warne, John, burnt for denying the corporal presence, temp. queen Mary, II. 501.

Warner, Dr., I. 269.

Warner, —, I. 62.

Warner, —, voted in the convocation of 1562 against certain alterations in divine service, III. ii. 482.

Warton, see *Parfew.*

Warwick, abbey of, Dominicans, surrendered, I. ii. 240.

Warwick, earl of, see *Northumberland, duke of.*

Warwick, Ambrose Dudley, viscount Lisle, earl of, II. ii. 16, 19, 53, 72. marries lady Anne Seymour, daughter of the duke of Somerset, II. 277. ii. 19. one of the embassy to France about Edward VI's marriage with the princess Elizabeth, daughter of Henry II, king of France, II. 302, 303. ii. 35. in a commission to amend the Order of the Garter, *ibid.* a challenger in a tilt and tournay, 56, 60, 62. concerned in a Christmas sport, 61. his father the duke of Northumberland gives up the keeping of fifty men-at-arms to him, 63. made master of the horse, 69. sent to the Tower for opposing queen Mary's title to the crown, II. 386. brought to trial, 390, 413. confessed his indictment, 391, 413. his attainder confirmed by parliament, 413. not proceeded further against at this time, *ibid.* restored in blood by act of parliament, 577.

Waste, Joan, a blind woman, burnt for heresy, temp. queen Mary, II. 542.

Water, blessed for what superstitious purposes, II. 146.

Watkins, —, clerk of the court, III. 123.

Watson, —, voted in the convocation of 1562 against certain alterations in divine service, III. ii. 482.

Watson, John, master of Christ's college, vice-chancellor of Cambridge, one of those appointed by the university of Cambridge to answer in its name the question relative to Henry VIII's first marriage, I. 151. ii. 130, 132. III. ii. 30. given to scholastic divinity, II. 628.

Watson, Thomas, bishop of Lincoln, II. 425, 427, 589. ii. 601. III. 445. appointed bishop of Lincoln, II. 553. one of the visitors of the university of Cambridge appointed by cardinal Pole, 552, 553. preaches there, 554. present at the convocation of 1559, III. 471. occasionally absent from the parliament of 1559, II. 608. one of the nine popish disputants at the conference at Westminster, 615, 619. his insolence at the conference, 619. ii. 527. sent to the Tower, II. 619. ii. 538. III. ii. 409. refuses to take the oath of supremacy, II. 626. imprisoned for a short time, 627. III.

500. his character, II. 628, 629. held the deanery of Durham *in commendam* when he was promoted to Lincoln, notwithstanding the zeal he had expressed against plurality of benefices, III. 456. this statement corrected, *ibid.* note. his death, ii. 396.

Watton, St. Mary, abbey of, Gilbertines, surrendered, I. ii. 254.

Watts, Peter, subscribed the articles of 1552, III. ii. 301.

Watts, Thomas, linen-draper, burnt for heresy at Chelmsford, temp. queen Mary, II. 502.

Watts, —, voted in the convocation of 1562 for certain alterations in divine service, III. ii. 481.

Wauchop, —, a Scot, made by the pope archbishop of Armagh, II. 343. blind, yet a great rider, *ibid.* not blind, but short-sighted, *ibid.* note.

Weatheral, abbey of, Cumberland, Benedictines, surrendered, I. ii. 240.

Webbe, John, a gentleman, burnt for heresy at Canterbury, temp. queen Mary, II. 526.

Webster, Augustine, prior of Axholm, executed for denying Henry VIII's supremacy, I. 552. according to Stow, was prior of Bevall, [Beauvale,] not of Axholm, *ibid.* note.

Weidner, Wolfgang, a Zurich divine, III. 475. his hospitality to the English reformers who had retired thither, 467.

Welbeck, abbey of, Nottinghamshire, Præmonstratensians, surrendered, I. ii. 237.

Weldon, Thomas, sent to the Fleet for maintaining one Parson, a clerk, who was known to have evil opinions touching the *sacrament of the altar*, III. 320.

Welhows, Robert, abbot of, signed as a member of convocation the articles of 1536, I. ii. 287.

Welles, alias Bridges, John, abbot of Croyland, signed as a member of convocation the articles of 1536, I. ii. 286. present at the parliament of 1539, I. 410.

Wells, deanery of, a provision in the act for the attainder of Cromwell that it should not extend to it, I. 443 note. ii. 422.

Wells, hospital of St. John [Baptist], surrendered, I. ii. 248.

Wellys, alias Welles, alias Styward, Robert, prior of Ely, signed as a member of convocation the articles of 1536, I. ii. 286.

Wemys, David de, signed the letter to the pope about the independence of Scotland, II. ii. 157.

Wendy, Thomas, one of the visitors of the university of Cambridge, 1553, III. 373. ii. 304.

Wenlock, monastery of St. Milburg, Salop, Cluniacs, surrendered, I. ii. 258.

Went, John, burnt for heresy, temp. queen Mary, II. 540.

Wentworth, sir John, instructed by the council of queen Mary to punish some of Colchester and other places for dissuading people from frequenting such divine service as was appointed by law to be observed, III. 495.

Wentworth, sir Nicholas, discharged of the portership of Calais, II. ii. 85. pensioned, *ibid.*

Wentworth, Thomas lord, II. ii. 29, 34. III. 321, 333. sat on the trial of queen Anne Boleyn and lord Rochford, I. 323. one of the council appointed to be attendant upon Edward VI, II. ii. 12. signed certain orders

of the privy council, 301, 304. joins the council against the protector, II. 241. one of the six governors of the king's person upon the protector's removal, 244. lord chamberlain, ii. 31. his death, *ibid.* left sixteen children, *ibid.*

Wentworth, Thomas lord, son of the preceding, II. 472. one of the peers on the duke of Somerset's trial, 306. ii. 57. dissented in parliament from an act concerning treasons, II. 322. governor of Calais, 571. forced to surrender it to the duke of Guise and become a prisoner of war, 572. obtains his liberty, init. queen Elizabeth, 573. tried and acquitted, *ibid.* 607, 608. of the reformed religion, 608.

Werburgh, St., monastery of, converted into the see of Chester by Henry VIII, I. 466.

West, Nicholas, dean of Windsor, I. 86. bishop of Ely, ii. 555. III. 122, 123. approved of Henry VIII's scruples about his first marriage, 108. one of queen Catharine's council in the matter of her divorce, 116.

Westacre, abbey of, Norfolk, Austin canons, surrendered, I. ii. 233.

Westacre, monastery of, I. 385.

Westminster, Henry VIII's donations for the poor and the highways there, I. 533.

Westminster, abbey of, Benedictines, surrendered, I. ii. 253. founded by Edward the Confessor, I. 301. exempted by him from episcopal jurisdiction, *ibid.* renewed by Henry III, III. 248. ii. 219. converted into a bishop's see, and a deanery and twelve prebends with the other officers for a cathedral and choir, I. 476. ii. 581. the charter of its foundation as a bishopric, I. ii. 500.

Westminster, abbot of, I. 182. ii. 159. summoned to parliament in Henry VIII's reign, I. 429. present at the convocation of 1559, III. 471. in 1536, see *Benson, W.*; and 1558, see *Feckenham, J.*

Westminster, bishop of, see *Thirlby, T.*

Westminster, dean of, his appointed part at the coronation of Edward VI, II. ii. 133, 135. in 1553–1556, *Weston, H.*; 1561–1601, *Goodman, G.*; 1601–1605, *Andrewes, L.*

Westminster, deanery and cathedral of, suppressed and turned into a monastery by queen Mary, II. 546. the records of the foundation of the monastery lost, *ibid.* the queen gave warrants for pensions to be paid to the prebends of Westminster till they were otherwise provided, *ibid.* Feckenham was declared its abbot, *ibid.*

Westminster, see of, suppressed, and reunited to the see of London, II. 261, 325.

Westminster, see *Conference.*

Westmoreland, Charles Neville, sixth earl of, rebellion raised by him and the earl of Northumberland, III. 512.

Westmoreland, Henry Neville, fifth earl of, II. 563. sat on the trial of queen Anne Boleyn and lord Rochford, I. 323. one of Edward VI's privy council, II. ii. 117. in its committee for matters of state, 119. one of the council in the north, 331, 333. in a commission for equal division of the debatable ground between England and

Scotland, 66. earl of, made a knight of the Garter, 69. he and sir Andrew Dudley were the first knights that were installed after the new mode, II. 345. informed against for conspiracy, ii. 88. carries a sword of state before king Philip and queen Mary to parliament, II. 468.

Weston, Edward, voted in the convocation of 1562 for certain alterations in divine service, III. ii. 481.

Weston, Hugh, dean of Westminster, III. 222, 368, 369, 395, 396, 433. ii. 403. agreed in convocation to the order for the reception of the communion in both kinds, III. 325. chosen prolocutor of the convocation in 1553, II. 422. III. 389. his conduct in the dispute about the sacrament, II. 422–428. chosen prolocutor also of the convocation of 1554, III. 395. concerned in the disputation at Oxford upon the sacrament against Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, II. 452, 455, 456. had been six years in prison in king Edward's days, 456. opens Cranmer's petition to the council, intrusted to him, and sends it back, *ibid.*

Weston, —, I. 319, 322. of the king's privy chamber, observed to have much of Anne Boleyn's favour, 316. sent to the Tower, 317. beheaded, 329.

Whalley, abbot of, tried as a rebel, I. 560. executed, *ibid.* 380.

Whalley [or Whatley], —, II. ii. 31. receiver of Yorkshire, confesses his peculations, 76. surrenders his office, *ibid.*

Wharton, Henry, II. ii. 589. published a book called *Anglia Sacra*, III. 26. wrote a specimen of some errors in Burnet's History of the Reformation under the name of Anthony Harmer, *ibid.* written with much malice and contempt, 27. some account of him, *ibid.* confirmation of his having made three errors in one line, 4.

Wharton, sir Thomas, one of the lady Mary's officers, II. 300.

Wharton, Thomas lord, III. 448. one of the council of the north, II. ii. 331, 333. makes an inroad into Scotland, II. 85. dissented in parliament from the act allowing the clergy to marry, 168. and from the act for the destruction of the old service-books, 250. one of the peers at the duke of Somerset's trial, 306. ii. 57. in a commission for an equal division of the debatable ground between England and Scotland, 66. made deputy-warden of the north, 82. dissented in parliament from the act for the marriage of the clergy, II. 324. and from a bill against simony, 327. his son declares for queen Mary against lady Jane Grey, 383. dissented in parliament from the bill for uniformity, 624. ii. 618.

Wheat, high and low price of, 1557, 1558, III. 445.

Wheeler [Whestler or Westler], Richard, III. 435 note.

Wherwell, monastery of, Hampshire, Benedictine nunnery, surrendered, I. ii. 255.

Whinn, Matthew, notary-public and registrar of the university of Cambridge, II. ii. 557.

Whipping-boy, was, according to the rule of educating princes, to be whipped for the king's faults, II. 373. See *Fitzpatrick, Barnaby.*

Whitby, monastery of, Yorkshire, Benedictines, surrendered, I. ii. 257.

White, John, successively bishop of Lincoln and of Winchester, I. 496. II. 499, 558, 584, 589, 627, 628. ii. 526. III. 454. made bishop of Lincoln, II. 442. in a commission to proceed against Ridley and Latimer for heresy, 510. assists at the consecration of archbishop Pole, 544. removed to the see of Winchester, 553. preaches at queen Mary's funeral, 601. III. 469. ii. 396. notice of it, 469, 470. confined for his reflections on queen Elizabeth, II. 601. set at liberty, *ibid.* present at the convocation of 1559, III. 471. occasionally absent from the parliament of 1559, II. 608. dissented in parliament from the bill annexing the supremacy to the crown, 611. and from that about the appointment of bishops, *ibid.* one of the nine popish disputants at the conference at Westminster, 615, 619. his insolence at the conference, 619. ii. 527. sent to the Tower, II. 619. ii. 528. III. ii. 409. refuses to take the oath of supremacy, II. 626, 627. imprisoned, 627. his character, 628, 629. his death, III. 496, 497. ii. 444.

White, Rawlins, a fisherman, imprisoned because he had put his son to school that he might hear the Bible read by him, II. 494. burnt at Cardiff for heresy, temp. queen Mary, *ibid.*

White, —, II. ii. 52.

Whitehall, had been taken from the see of York, II. 516. queen Mary gives Suffolk-place to the see of York in its stead, *ibid.* 517. See *York-house.*

Whitehead, David, II. 600. ii. 502. one of the nine protestant disputants at the conference at Westminster, II. 615. ii. 513. III. ii. 403.

Whitehead, Hugh, dean of Durham, charged with being concerned in a conspiracy, III. 357. his death put an end to the proceedings against him, *ibid.*

Whiteland [or Alba Landa], abbey of, Carmarthenshire, Cistercians, newly founded and preserved, I. ii. 230.

Whiteland [or Blanchland], Northumberland, Premonstratensians, newly founded and preserved, I. ii. 229. surrendered, 257. See *Alba Landa.*

Whiting, Richard, abbot of Glastonbury, I. 417. III. 259. signed as a member of convocation the articles of 1536, I. ii. 286. summoned to the parliament of 1539, I. 410. a letter of the visitors of the monasteries concerning him, III. 259. ii. 234. attainted, I. 428, 566. executed for high treason, not for denying the king's supremacy, 380, 381. ii. 575. of great power and wealth, I. 380.

Whittyngham, William, wrote the preface to Ridley's book *de Cœna Domini*, II. 583.

Whyte, Thomas, voted in the convocation of 1562 against certain alterations in divine service, III. ii. 482.

Wiat, sir Thomas, I. ii. 551. II. 437, 563, 579. ii. 606, 613. III. 114, 240, 396. had been employed in embassies into Spain, 214, 390. a kinsman of the duke of Northum-

berland, yet did not join in lady Jane's business, 390. proclaimed queen Mary at Maidstone, 391. thanked by her for his loyalty, *ibid.* what prevented his going abroad, *ibid.* enters into a conspiracy in consequence of queen Mary's intended marriage with Philip of Spain, II. 431. III. 391. breaks out, II. 431. the Londoners in the duke of Norfolk's army revolt to him, 432. his demands, 433. marches to Southwark, *ibid.* crosses the Thames at Kingston, *ibid.* defeated, *ibid.* and taken, 434. his character, *ibid.* his abject supplication, 437. beheaded, *ibid.* who prevented the queen from pardoning him, III. 391.

Wich, see *Wakeman.*

Widdrington, Ra., attests a copy of the record of archbishop Parker's consecration at Lambeth chapel, II. ii. 557.

Wigmore, abbey of, Herefordshire, Austin canons, surrendered, I. ii. 242.

Wikius, —, III. ii. 522, 527.

Wilford, —, captain of Haddington, II. ii. 6. taken prisoner by the Scotch, 7.

Wilkins, Dr., author of *Concilia,* I. ii. 152, 153 note.

Wilks, —, III. ii. 251.

Willet, Thomas, notary public, II. ii. 557.

William the Conqueror, I. 234. II. 33. III. ii. 140. founded Battle abbey in memory of his victory over Harold and to endear himself to the clergy, I. 236, 302. exempting it from episcopal jurisdiction, *ibid.* seized the lands in England and gave them to strangers, II. 447.

William, king of Scotland, II. ii. 153, 154. notice of his homage to Henry II of England, II. 80. ii. 154.

William Rufus, II. ii. 153. III. ii. 140.

Williams, sir John, afterwards lord, II. 242. as lord chamberlain, ii. 461. a defendant at a tilt and tournay, 60. why sent to the Fleet, 75. set at liberty, *ibid.* made lord Williams for proclaiming queen Mary, II. 404. escorted Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer to Oxford, III. 395. appointed by the queen to see the execution of Ridley and Latimer, II. 512. has the custody of the lady Elizabeth for a short time, 459. who is removed from his charge because he treated her with civility and the respect due to her quality, *ibid.* he and sir Henry Bedingfield guarded the lady Elizabeth down to Woodstock, 580. treated her nobly at his house on the way, *ibid.*

Williams, William, assay-master, II. ii. 77.

Williams, —, II. ii. 437. a mariner of Bristol, III. 395. imprisoned in the Marshalsea for conveying Barlow, bishop of Bath and Wells, over sea, *ibid.*

Willock, —, a Scotch reformed preacher, II. 653. III. 488.

Willoughby, sir William, afterwards lord, II. 41, 43. ii. 62. III. 440, 441. created baron Willoughby of Parham, II. 54. deputy of Calais, ii. 28. removed from the deputyship, as unmeet for it, 85, 87.

Wills, style of, before the reformation, I. 272. probates of wills where the estate was 200*l.* or above, no more to be tried or proved in the bishops' courts,

but in Cromwell's, as vicar-general to Henry VIII in ecclesiastical matters, 293.
Wilson, Dr. Nicolas, signed as a member of convocation the articles of 1536, I. ii. 289. attainted for refusing to take the oath of succession, I. 260. imprisoned on suspicion of correspondence with the pope, 567. set at liberty, *ibid.* why excepted out of a general pardon, III. 265.
Wilson, Thomas, proctor at Cambridge, I. ii. 132.
Wilton, nunnery of, Wiltshire, Benedictine, surrendered, I. ii. 247.
Wiltshire, a rising in, dispersed by sir William Herbert, II. 208.
Wiltshire, earl of, see *Winchester, first marquis of.*
Wiltshire, Elizabeth Howard countess of, present at the marriage of her daughter Anne Boleyn to Henry VIII, III. 156.
Wiltshire, John Paulet earl of, afterwards second marquis of Winchester, II. ii. 53, 55.
Wiltshire, sir Thomas Boleyn, viscount Rochford, earl of, and earl of Ormond, I. 82, 85, 86, 138, 208, 211. ii. 550, 551, 558. III. 100, 133, 137, 167. made viscount Rochford, I. 138. made earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, in the right of his mother, 148. Cranmer recommended to his care, *ibid.* sent with bishop Stokesley on an embassy to the pope and the emperor about Henry VIII's divorce, 152. refuses to kiss the pope's foot, 163. present at his daughter Anne Boleyn's marriage to Henry VIII, III. 156. a misstatement of his sitting on the trial of his daughter queen Anne Boleyn, and his son George lord Rochford, corrected, I. 323. one of the embassy to France to propose a marriage with Edward VI and the princess Elizabeth, daughter of Henry II king of France, II. 303. ii. 35. concerned in a Christmas sport, 61.
Winchcombe, abbot of, summoned to parliament in Henry VIII's reign, I. 429.
Winchcombe, abbot of, 1531, see *Kyderminster, R.;* and 1536, see *Ancelme, R.*
Winchcombe, monastery of, Benedictines, surrendered, I. ii. 255.
Winchester, Henry VIII's donations for the poor and the highways there, I. 533.
Winchester, bishop of, 1405–1447, *Beaufort, H.;* 1500–1528, *Fox, R.;* 1531–1550, 1553, 1554, 1555, *Gardiner, S.;* 1551, 1552, 1553, *Poynet, J.;* 1557, 1558, 1559, *White, J.;* 1561–1580, *Horne, R.*
Winchester, convent of St. Mary, Southamptonshire, Benedictine nuns, new founded and preserved from the dissolution of lesser monasteries, I. ii. 227. surrendered, 255.
Winchester, dean of, see *Abbot, G.*
Winchester, priory of, converted into a deanery and college of prebends, I. 477. ii. 581.
Winchester, sir William Paulet, lord St. John, earl of Wiltshire, marquis of, I. 549. ii. 537. II. 41, 139, 261, 310. ii. 29, 34, 53, 54. III. 321, 330, 333, 335, 469. ii. 396. as lord treasurer, II. 261, 495, 500, 507, 589. ii. 59, 72. as lord great master, or lord chamberlain, I. 322. II. ii. 48, 54, 59, 72, 167. III. 295. ii. 239, 274,

275, 276. great master of the household, one of Henry VIII's executors, and governors to his son and to the kingdom, II. 37. his appointed part at the coronation of Edward VI, ii. 134, 135. one of the council appointed to be attendant upon Edward VI, 11. president of Edward VI's council, II. 42. ii. 117, 142. in its committee for hearing suits, 118. in another, for the calling of forfeits, *ibid.* in another, for matters of state, 119. in another, to look to the state of the courts, 120. in another, for the bulwarks, *ibid.* signed certain letters and orders of the privy council, 132, 136, 146, 148, 242, 274, 288, 301, 304, 345. III. ii. 464. has the custody of the great seal for a time, II. 57, 58. signed the council's order for Gardiner's imprisonment in the Tower for his opposition to the measures about religion, 138. he and most of the council separate from the protector and meet at Ely-house, 239. one of the six governors of the king's person upon the protector's removal, 244. made lord treasurer and earl of Wiltshire, 246, 259. a witness against bishop Gardiner, 285. in a commission to amend the Order of the Garter, ii. 35. made marquis of Winchester, II. 304. ii. 50. lord steward at the duke of Somerset's trial, II. 306. ii. 57. in a commission to review the statutes of the Order of the Garter, II. 345. signed Edward VI's limitation of the crown, III. ii. 308. signed the council's letter to the lady Mary to acquaint her that lady Jane Grey was queen, II. 379. famous for his dexterity in shifting sides always to his own advantage, 384. declares for queen Mary, *ibid.* 385. remains lord treasurer to queen Mary, 393. one of the chief mourners at Edward VI's funeral, *ibid.* one of the select committee appointed by king Philip for the regulation of affairs during his absence from England, III. 440. ii. 386. one of queen Elizabeth's first privy council, II. 596. a papist, 597. dissented in parliament from the Act of Uniformity, 623, 624. ii. 618, 619. and from that declaring the deprivation of certain popish bishops in king Edward's time to have been good, II. 624, 625. his dexterity in retaining his office, 625. continued lord treasurer in the reigns of Edward VI, queen Mary, and queen Elizabeth, *ibid.* his death, *ibid.* Basing his house, 84.

Winchester, second marquis of, see *Wiltshire, earl of.*

Windsor, dean of, see *Thompson, Giles.*

Windsor, dean and chapter of, Henry VIII's bequest to, II. 52.

Windsor, William lord, sat on the trial of queen Anne Boleyn and lord Rochford, I. 323. dissented in parliament from the act allowing the clergy to marry, II. 168. and from that confirming the new Liturgy, 176. and from the act for the destruction of the old service-books, 250. one of the peers on the duke of Somerset's trial, 306. ii. 57. dissented in parliament from the act for bring-

ing men to divine service, II. 321. and from the act for the marriage of the clergy, 324. in a commission for a severer way of proceeding against heretics, ii. 469.
Wine, price of by the tun about 1557, III. 484.
Wingfield, James, sent to the Tower for casting out of bills seditious, II. ii. 52.
Wingfield, lady, discovered some ground for accusation against queen Anne Boleyn, according to Spelman, I. 316. ii. 570. but not reliable as evidence of the queen's guilt, *ibid.*
Wingfield, sir Anthony, II. 242. III. 321. as comptroller, II. ii. 45, 54, 240. vice-chamberlain, one of the privy council appointed by Henry VIII's will to assist his executors, II. 38. one of Edward VI's privy council, 59. ii. 117, 143. in its committee for matters of state, 119. in another for the bulwarks, 120. signed certain orders of the privy council, 192, 242, 301, 304. vice-chamberlain, made comptroller instead, 12. joins the council against the protector, II. 241. one of those sent by the council to the lady Mary about her using the new service-book, 297.
Wingfield, sir Richard, appointed to view the state of Portsmouth, II. ii. 72.
Wingfield, sir Robert, he and Silvester bishop of Worcester commissioned by Henry VIII to attend the council of Lateran summoned by Julius II, III. 63.
Wingfield, —, imprisoned as an adherent of the duke of Somerset, II. 304.
Winter, —, II. ii. 22, 88.
Winton, convent of St. Mary in, see *Winchester.*
Wirtle, Thomas, a priest, burnt for heresy, temp. queen Mary, II. 539.
Wise, —, II. ii. 250.
Wishart, George, of a noble Scottish family, I. 525. imbibed the principles of the reformation at Cambridge, *ibid.* returning to Scotland, 1544, preaches against the corruptions which so generally prevailed there, *ibid.* his activity at Dundee during the plague, *ibid.* 526. irregular proceedings against, 526. foretells cardinal Beaton's death, 528. burnt as an heretic, *ibid.* his death promoted the reformation, 529.
Witham, abbey of, Somersetshire, Carthusians, surrendered, I. ii. 247.
Wither, George, III. ii. 523.
Woburn, abbot of, tried as one of the leaders in the Lincolnshire rebellion, I. 560. executed, *ibid.* 380.
Wolde, William, abbot of Bridlington, tried as a rebel, I. 560. executed, *ibid.*
Woleman, Richard, dean of Wells, III. ii. 24. signed as a member of convocation the articles of 1536, I. ii. 288. signed a declaration of the functions and divine institution of bishops and priests, 340.
Wolf [or Wolfe], Edward, imprisoned as an adherent of the protector, II. 243. III. 332. dismissed, 332.
Wolfe, see *Wolf.*
Wolley, see *Wolsey, William.*
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